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INVESTIGATION

Serial 7, Sub A, James Herold
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SERIALS OCT 1951-JULY 1954
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385355 SUB A
SECTION 1
OCT, 1951-JULY, 1954

BIG FOUNDATION FUNDS DIVERTED TO AID COMMIES

Rep. Cox Starts Drive For Hill Probe

BY WILLIAM FULTON

The lofty, charitable aims of the original donors to Carnegie, Rockefeller, Ford and other huge foundations in the country have been diverted into propaganda for globalism, including international communism, a survey of the three-billion-dollar trust field revealed yesterday.

There are 10,000 foundations of all types operating in this country at the present time, according to the United States Treasury. The gigantic empire is growing with amazing rapidity, mostly because philanthropies of eleemosynary institutions are exempt from taxation.

A foundation is such a law unto itself that it may use tax-free funds to support a known Communist or finance a Communist-dominated organization while parents of a soldier in Korea are struggling to pay increased levies on their income to finance the war against the Reds.

Congress Probe Sought

So great has grown the power of the big foundations that Rep. Cox (D) of Georgia has started the ball rolling for a congressional investigation. His resolution for an inquiry "to determine which such foundations and organizations are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities or for purposes not in the interest or tradition of the U. S." has been approved by the House rules committee.

Reached at his office in Washington, Rep. Cox said he planned to submit the resolution for passage by the full House next January. He aims to broaden the scope of the investigation to include specifically educational grants to the universities which have been used for un-American purposes.

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"Many foundations have done good work, but the question as to whether they have come under the control of people whose thinking may be rooted in alien ideologies might properly be looked into. Certainly large sums have been made to subsidize and support people whose major interest is furthering the cause of

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How the foundations developed will be analyzed more in detail in subsequent articles in this series.

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G. I. McArthur
W. J. Jones

Use of Records
Investigation
Philanthropy
and Eleemosynary
Institutions
to Implement the
Programs of Subversive Groups

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Use of Benevolent Trusts
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Institutions to Implement the
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Memorandum
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Deep Public Influence

Cox said that altho the foundations are private institutions, they have a profound influence on the public and therefore are properly subject to governmental examination to see if they are acting in a manner consistent with the public welfare.

The foundation idea is not a new one, but the diversion of great streams of private capital to promote propaganda for various forms of internationalism is a recent innovation.

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Ford Totals Half Billion

Ford, a relative newcomer and a colossus towering over all the rest, is estimated conservatively at the staggering total of \$500,000,000. Donors to this foundation were Henry Ford, the motor car magnate, his son, Edsel B. Ford, and their estates.

Scottish-born Andrew Carnegie, canny tho he was, could never have foreseen that one of his benefactions would some day be headed by a spy, traitor and perjurer who is now in a federal penitentiary serving out a sentence for his crimes.

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Int. Philanthropies

Peace, easy initiation

Simple, end the

Magnum of subversion

Groups

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File: Use of Benevolent Trusts, Philanthropies
 & Eleemosynary Institutions to Implement the
 Programs of Subversive Groups

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 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Harbo _____
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 Mr. Tracy _____
 Mr. Laughlin _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Tele. Room _____
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 Miss Gandy _____

FOUNDATIONS WANDER INTO FIELDS OF ISMS

Divert High Aims; Probe Planned

BY WILLIAM FULTON

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

New York, Oct. 14 — The lofty, charitable aims of the original donors to Carnegie, Rockefeller, Ford and other huge foundations in the country have been diverted into propaganda for globalism, including international communism, a survey of the 3 billion dollar trust field disclosed today.



Cox

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Plato endowed his academy with some from farm lands. The old-

USE OF BENEVOLENT TRUSTS
 & PHILANTHROPIES AND
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 TO IMPLEMENT THE PROGRAMS
 OF SUBVERSIVE GROUPS

est trust in the United States is the White-Williams Foundation of Philadelphia, established in 1800 as the Magdalen society "to ameliorate the distressed condition of those unhappy females seduced from the paths of virtue." It was found expedient early in this century to reorganize the society and use the funds for vocational guidance and student counseling rather than for the maintenance

of a gloomy home for the delinquent girls.

Can Keep Setups Secret

In this century as in the last it is not incumbent upon "foundations," "funds," "trusts," "endowments," "corporations," "institutions," "institutes," "societies," or "associations" dealing in philanthropy to make public their assets, expenditure, recipients, administrative personnel, or give out any information whatsoever.

Raymond Rich associates, a New York firm, culled out 899 American charitable setups from

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the treasury's estimated 10,000 and compiled a guide called "American Foundations and Their Fields." It is the most authoritative work on the subject. Even so, 659 organizations refused or failed to report their assets.

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175 Million for Carnegie Group

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Hiss Headed Peace Group

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It was the Yalta conference that hatched out the idea of giving Russia two additional votes in the U. N. general assembly, for Byelorussia and the Ukraine.

Helps Frame U. N.

As director of the state department's office of special political

activities, which had in charge all United Nations affairs, Hiss became secretary of the 1945 San Francisco conference which drafted the U. N. charter. He probably had more to do with framing the instrument than any other man.

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Generally the foundations are so chartered that their trustees fill all vacancies among the trustees themselves, and thus keep control of the organization in perpetuity.

Elect Own Successors

The Carnegie corporation trustees, for example, were given authority under the New York state charter granted in 1911, to elect their own successors in perpetuity. The same is true for the Carnegie Endowment for Interna-

tional Peace, and the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, both chartered in New York state.

The Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Guggenheim Foundation operate under an arrangement whereby members are the same as the trustees. This assures the election of the trustees, since they, as members, are not likely to vote against themselves as candidates for the board of trustees.

An exception to the usual pattern was the Rosenwald Fund. The Chicago philanthropist decreed that all of its money should be expended within 25 years of his death. The full amount has been liquidated.

How the foundations developed will be analyzed more in detail in subsequent articles in this series.

ORIGINAL AIMS OF ROCKEFELLER FUND DISTORTED

Foundation Strays from Founder's Objective

BY WILLIAM FULTON

New York, Oct. 17 (CTPS)—John D. Rockefeller, the oil magnate who gave away a half billion dollars to philanthropies during his lifetime, said on one occasion "it is easy to do harm in giving money." Today a congressional inquiry into the Rockefeller Foundation is imminent on the grounds the money is being given away to un-American persons and causes.

Rep. Cox (D) of Georgia, in proposing the investigation recently, specifically cited the Rockefeller institution. He will press for passage of his resolution when Congress re-convenes after Jan. 1.

Walsh Query Prophetic

Back in 1915 Rockefeller defended his philanthropies before the U.S. industrial commission. Frank P. Walsh, head of the commission, prophetically asked the oil tycoon if it had ever occurred to him his foundation might "become a menace to the public, either thru mismanagement or by exercising a great influence on the public mind in any direction?" Mr. Rockefeller replied in the negative.

The Rockefeller Foundation, biggest of the trusts bearing the name, was established in 1913. Rockefeller first sought a charter from Congress but couldn't get the features he wanted so he went to the New York State legislature for authority. The purpose was stated as "to promote the well-being of mankind thruout the world."

For many years, while Rockefeller was alive, the foundation spent its huge income on medicine. Thanks to Rockefeller, hookworm was eradicated from the South. Rockefeller went after yellow fever in this country and abroad.

Medical Grants Helpful

Rockefeller's name had been anathema thruout the land until Ivy Ledbetter Lee, the shrewdest public relations man since Johnson's Boswell, began to publicize the philanthropies. Considerable Rockefeller money went to the Red Cross for which Mr. Lee was handling the publicity, during the first World war.

Disbursements for the year 1928 were typical. They went as follows: Public health, \$3,042,339; medical education, \$17,266,153; miscellaneous, \$78,888; administration, \$600,358. The miscellaneous activities included mental hygiene, biology, anthropoid research, nursing education and fellowships in physics, chemistry and mathematics.

During the 1930s, however, the foundation began to stray from its original purpose and in recent years has been pumping money into globalist propaganda, including the Marxist type of internationalism. Its present assets are \$158,103,332.13 and the immense income, some of which finds its way into the pockets of the Communists, is non-taxable on the theory it all goes for charitable activities.

I.P.R. Got \$110,000 in Gifts

During 1950, for example, the Rockefeller Foundation made a grant of \$60,000 to the American Institute of Pacific Relations and another handout of \$50,000 to the Pacific council. These are both branches of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which is currently under fire before the U.S. Senate internal security committee as Communist-controlled.

Rockefeller Foundation picked up the check for the I.P.R.'s meeting at Lucknow, India, in October of last year. The meeting, on "nationalism in the Far East and its international consequences," degenerated into a sounding board

for Communist speakers against the United States.

Among the leading lights in I.P.R. affairs in recent years were Prof. Owen Lattimore, who denied charges of Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin that he had been a "top Soviet agent"; Dr. Philip C. Jessup, branded by congressmen as unfit to represent the United States as delegate to the United Nations general assembly because of an "affinity" for Communist causes; and Frederick Vanderbilt Field, great-great-grandson of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt. Field, a millionaire banker of Red front organizations.

Grants Had Dulles Okay

Funds went to the allegedly Red-dominated I.P.R. last year with the approval of Rockefeller Foundation's chairman, John Foster Dulles. Dulles, a Wall Street lawyer, is a special adviser to the State department on the "bipartisan" deal with the Truman regime and is also adviser to Gov. Dewey of New York on foreign affairs.

Among the foundation's trustees are John S. Dickey, president of Dartmouth college and former State department public relations man; Winthrop Aldrich, banker and leading anglophile; Henry Allen Moe, an American Rhodes scholar and secretary-general of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial fund; Dean Rusk, another Rhodes scholar and assistant secretary of state in charge of Far Eastern affairs, and Lewis W. Douglas, former ambassador to Britain.

With a globalist-minded board at the top, the Foundation contributed \$625,000 to the Foreign Policy association between 1934 and 1945. The F.P.A. is the chief propaganda setup for internationalism in the country. In 1945 the Foundation gave F.P.A. another grant of \$200,000 and last year an additional \$20,000.

More to Internationalists

The Foundation granted \$180,000 last year to the Brookings institution in Washington for a "problem approach program" for the training of government officials in international relations.

A sum of \$420,000 was dished up by the Foundation to Columbia university for the maintenance of the Russian institute in the school of international affairs.

The noted historian, Charles Austin Beard, exposed a plot hatched up by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Rockefeller Foundation, to keep intact for future generations the New Deal version of World War II.

"The Rockefeller foundation and the Council on Foreign Relations (which receives its grants) intend to prevent, if they can, a repetition of what they call in the vernacular 'the debunking journalistic campaign' following World War I," he wrote.

Called Censoring Move

"Translated into precise English, this means that the Foundation and the council do not want journalists or any other per-

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sons to examine too closely and criticize too freely the official propaganda and official statements relative to 'our basic aims and activities' during World War II.

"In short, they hope that, among other things, the policies and measures of Franklin D. Roosevelt will escape in the coming years the critical analysis, evaluation and exposition that befell the policies and measures of Woodrow Wilson and the entente allies after World War I."

The Foundation admitted in its 1946 report the subsidizing of a corps of historians to frustrate any revision of the Roosevelt myth.

One of the oddest Rockefeller grants was \$110,000 to Cornell university to conduct a study of "civil liberties and the control of subversive activities." This was in 1948. The administration of the grant was turned over to Prof. Walter F. Gellhorn of Columbia, who had been the subject of investigation by the congressional committee on un-American activities.

Gellhorn Linked to Reds

Gellhorn is a member of the National Lawyers guild and the International Juridical association. The un-American activities committee characterized the guild as the "legal bulwark of the Communist party." A California legislative committee charged the association with having "specialized in the defense of individual Communists or of the Communist party itself."

Despite the disclosure of Gellhorn's connections, the Foundation has gone ahead with the project and last year topped off the original grant with another \$20,000.

When Hanns Eisler, brother of the top Soviet agent, Gerhard Eisler, was about to be expelled from the United States because he was a Communist, Dr. Alvin S. Johnson, then director of the new school for social research, intervened. He persuaded James L. Houghteling, then commissioner of the bureau of investigation, to let Eisler remain in the United States in order that he might engage him as a teacher at the new school.

Eisler, Too, Got Grant

Eisler then obtained a grant from Rockefeller to defray the costs of a music study project to be conducted by him at the new school. The whole agreement was made with the full knowledge Eisler was a Communist and in this country to spread the Marxist revolutionary doctrine.

Another known Communist who enjoyed a Rockefeller grant was the late Louis Adamic. Adamic, a member of or sponsor for 38 Communist organizations, devoted most of his literary life to propagandizing Russian totalitarianism and in later years became the chief apologist in this country for Tito, the Communist dictator of Yugoslavia.

The Foundation has given millions of dollars to the London School of Economics, chief breeding ground for crypto-Communists and Socialists in England.

USE OF BENIGN TRUSTS, FOUNDATIONS AND
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Red Probers Share Million In Tax-Free Gifts to Leftists

BY WILLARD EDWARDS

Disbursements of one million dollars to subversive and Communist organizations were revealed to Congress yesterday in a startling report by Rep. Velde (R) of Illinois, a member of the House committee on un-American activities.

A \$20,000 fee for attorney Joseph D. Rauh Jr., counsel for William W. Remington, Commerce department official whose conviction for perjury to conceal Communist party membership was recently reversed on technical grounds, was one of the expenditures exposed. A new trial was ordered for Remington.

Asks Tax Exemption Quiz

The evidence turned up by the committee and made public by Velde disclosed that huge funds flowed to Communist groups from a trust fund which claimed exemption from taxes on the ground that the money was distributed for educational purposes.

Velde called upon the internal revenue bureau and the House ways and means committee to investigate such tax exemptions.

"Do attorney's fees for the de-

fense of Remington, charged and convicted of lying about being a Communist party member, in addition to being a spy for the Soviet Union, constitute a grant for educational purposes entitled to tax exemptions?" He asked the House.

Cox Inquiry Delayed

A proposed investigation of tax-exempt foundations which finance subversive propaganda and activities, introduced by Rep. Cox (D) of Ga., has been shelved in the House until next January. Much pressure has been put upon Cox to abandon the inquiry, it was learned authoritatively.

Velde displayed records of the New York Trust Co. which showed that on July 10, 1950, and again on Nov. 20, 1950, attorney Rauh received two \$10,000 checks from the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties trust.

This was one of three trusts set up from the estate of Robert Marshall of New York, who died in 1939 leaving an estate valued at \$1,514,721. The estate was left to a board of trustees to distribute for educational purposes and the safeguarding of civil liberties.

Chairman of Texas, of the un-American activities committee, issued a report in 1942 showing that \$100,000 had already been distributed from the Marshall estate to Communist fronts. But no subsequent report of the fund's operations was made public until Velde yesterday revealed its activities from 1942 to 1951. Almost one million dollars has been given in this period, largely to subversive organizations, Velde said.

Leftist Brother a Trustee

Among the trustees, Velde said, was George Marshall, brother of the deceased, chairman of two well-known Communist fronts, convicted and jailed for contempt of Congress in refusing to answer questions about the fronts. He has a record of 30 Communist front affiliations in committee records.

Another trustee was Gardner Jackson, "an old time Red," according to Velde. He was an Agriculture department official, twice removed from office, and with a record of 22 Communist front affiliations. Velde said Jackson, who lives in Washington, has a local police record showing constant attendance at Communist party-sponsored meetings.

Former Democratic congressman Jerry O'Connell was another trustee. He has an "astounding record of affiliation with Com-

munist fronts," Velde said, and was recently registered as a lobbyist against the internal security act of 1950, the anti-Communist law.

Baldwin on Board

Roger Baldwin, another trustee, for many years executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, is "an old-time apologist for communism," Velde said, and affiliated with 40 Communists fronts.

Edwin S. Smith, former member of the national labor relation board, also a trustee has a record of 16 Communist front affiliations, according to Velde.

The Marshall will was witnessed, Velde said, by Catherine M. Blaisdell and Thomas C. Blaisdell. Catherine Blaisdell is the wife of Thomas G. Blaisdell Jr., former assistant secretary of commerce, who resigned last Jan. 15 but who recently was in Paris as a representative of the foreign economic administration.

Blaisdell admitted under questioning in the Remington case that he was responsible for the employment of Remington. Attorney Rauh was also a witness at the congressional investigation of Remington.

Unsus Blaisdell Probe

Velde said an investigation

should inquire into the actions of Blaisdell and his with the Marshall estate. Named other persons, whose names will be disclosed later, were of investigation.

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CONGRESS EYES LEFTISH TREND OF FORD TRUST

Awards in First Year
Total 22.5 Million

BY WILLIAM FULTON

New York, Oct. 18—Ford Foundation has just wound up its first year by giving away \$22,510,880. Already this whopping big trust is showing signs of the same leftward slant which has characterized the operations of Carnegie, Rockefeller and other large foundations in recent years.

The Ford-financed activities are being watched with interest by the Congress where an inquiry into the behavior of all the big foundations is imminent. Rep. E. E. Cox (D) of Georgia has demanded a congressional investigation to determine whether the great reservoirs of philanthropic capital have been diverted to un-American persons and causes.

Hoffman Now Director

On Jan. 1 of this year Paul G. Hoffman, former president of the Studebaker corporation and administrator for the economic co-operation administration, became active director of the foundation. Having given away 10 billion dollars to foreign countries in two and a half years, Hoffman was an old hand at the game.

The first straw in the wind that the Ford Foundation was veering toward a leftwing course with a good chance that the millions of tax-free income would be injected into global politics and propaganda appeared with the appointment of Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins as a Hoffman aide. Hutchins is former chancellor of the University of Chicago.

Vicious Attack on Press

Hutchins, it will be recalled, was chairman of the so-called "commission on the freedom of the press" financed by the Henry Luce magazine chain. Ten of the 12 men on his commission had been identified with movements listed as Communist fronts by government agencies. Hutchins himself has a fondness for socialism. The commission report was a vicious attack on the free press in this country.

One of the early moves that caused some eyebrow-lifting was the selection of Reinhold Niebuhr, professor at Union Theological seminary, to handle a \$500,000 fund created for the purpose of culling out 2,000 European intellectuals for resettlement in this country under the displaced persons program.

Niebuhr, who sat on the H. J. Press Commission, has been an inveterate joiner of organizations which the Department of Justice and House committee on un-American activities have cited as subversive.

"Free Russia Fund"

Another budding project to be nurtured by Ford dollars is the "Free Russia Fund." Headed by George F. Kennan, former State department consultant, the fund will be used to transport Russian refugees to the United States.

Aiding Kennan will be Dr. Philip E. Mosely, director of the Russian institute at Columbia university, and Frank Altschul, retired international banker. Mosely, former chief of the division of territorial studies in the State department, was an adviser to the American delegation at the Potsdam conference in 1945 and subsequently at the foreign ministers council in London.

Altschul is director and treasurer of the National Committee for a Free Europe, a prime mover in the interventionist committee on the present danger, former president of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. He claims to be a Republican but contributed \$5,000 to the Democratic national committee during the 1944 presidential campaign.

Table Lists Grants

A table showing the grants, authorizations and commitments of the Ford Foundation from Sept. 27, 1950, to the present time follows:

For establishment of funds and foundation programs:

Fund for the advancement of education	\$7,154,000
Fund for adult education (including \$1,200,000 for television-radio workshop)	4,200,000
Free Russia fund	785,000
Overseas program	5,000,000

Total	\$17,139,000
To outside organizations:	
Free University of Berlin	\$1,400,000
American Friend Service Committee	1,000,000
Institute of International Education to administer foundation exchange of persons, programs and to strengthen its own organization	1,200,000
Resettlement campaign for exiled professionals	500,000
National Manpower Council	250,000
National Committee for a Free Europe	150,000
International Press Institute	150,000
Unitarian Service Committee	130,000
University of Frankfurt and University of Chicago	90,000
Disarmament study	80,000
Intercultural study	75,000
Others (\$60,000 or less)	345,000

Total \$5,371,880

Grand total \$22,510,880

Hands Out for Handouts

The foundation offices at Pasadena, Calif., have been deluged with applications for several billion dollars worth of handouts. They are coming in at the rate of 1,000 a week.

One man had the theory the world would soon tip over—the icecaps on the South Pole were top-heavy—and Ford should spend money to melt the ice.

Another had developed a serum which, he claimed, when injected into the veins of man, would bring peace and serenity to this planet.

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LEFTIST SLANT BEGINS TO SHOW IN FORD TRUST

**Gives Away 22½ Million
in First Year**

BY WILLIAM FULTON

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

New York, Oct. 18—The Ford Foundation has wound up its first year by giving away \$22,510,880. This whopping big trust is showing signs of the same leftward slant which has characterized the operations of Carnegie, Rockefeller, and other large foundations in recent years.

The Ford financed activities are being watched with interest by congress, where an inquiry into the behavior of the big foundations is imminent. Rep. Cox [D., Ga.] has demanded a congressional investigation to determine whether the great reservoirs of philanthropic capital have been diverted to un-American persons and causes.

Half Billion Capital

Donors to the Ford Foundation were Henry Ford, the motor car magnate, his son, Edsel B. Ford, and their estates. The capital is conservatively estimated at half a billion dollars, which makes the newcomer a colossus in the field, more than twice as large as Carnegie corporation and Rockefeller Foundation put together.

The infant Goliath was established in 1936 by the late Henry Ford "for scientific, educational, and charitable purposes for the public welfare."

The foundation, however, did not start spending money until this year because the estate had been tied up pending decisions by the bureau of internal revenue.

Cut Taxable Estate

More than 3 million shares of class "A" nonvoting stock in the Ford Motor company were transferred to the foundation, thereby reducing the taxable estate by almost 95 per cent. Grants are made from the stock yields, but the trustees are empowered to dip into capital if they deem it necessary.

By this means, control of the Ford company remained in the family. Henry Ford II is chairman of the foundation's board. At the same time, the income, estimated at between 25 million and 30 million dollars annually, depending on Ford profits, will not be taxed because it is going into a philanthropic venture.

Hoffman Takes Over

On Jan. 1 of this year, Paul G. Hoffman, former president of the Studebaker corporation and administrator for the economic co-operation administration, became active director of the foundation. Having given away 10 billion dollars to foreign countries in two and a half years, Hoffman was an old hand at the game.

The first straw in the wind that the Ford Foundation was veering toward a leftward course with a good chance the millions of tax free income would be injected into global politics and propaganda appeared with the appointment of Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins as a Hoffman aid. Hutchins is former chancellor of the University of Chicago. He wound up two decades as the "boy prodigy of the Midway" with condemnation from professors and alumni for his quixotic educational theories.

Linked to Reds

Hutchins, it will be recalled, was chairman of the so-called commission on the Freedom of the Press financed by the Henry Luce magazine chain. Ten of the 12 men on his commission had been identified with movements listed as communist fronts by government agencies. Hutchins himself has a fondness for socialism. The com-

mission report was a vicious attack on the free press in this country.

Other Hoffman aids include Chester C. Davis, ex-president of the federal reserve bank of St. Louis, H. Rowan Gaither Jr., San Francisco attorney and chairman of the Rand corporation, and Milton Katz, an "expert" on international relations and former ambassador at large for ECA.

One of the early moves that caused some eyebrow lifting was the selection of Reinhold Niebuhr, professor at the Union Theological seminary, to handle a \$500,000 fund created to cull 2,000 European intellectuals for resettlement in this country under the displaced persons program.

Known as Joiner

Niebuhr, who sat on the Hutchins' press commission, has been an inveterate joiner of organizations which the justice department and

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house committee on un-American activities have cited as subversive. Among his pinko tie-ups have been the following:

American Friends of Spanish Democracy, American League for Peace and Democracy, Committee on Militarism in Education, Consumers' National Federation, Emergency Peace Mobilization, League for Industrial Democracy, National Religion and Labor Foundation, North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, and War Resisters League.

Niebuhr's methods of picking his European intellectuals will be scrutinized closely to see whether only those who follow his left-wing theories are found worthy of transplanting to this country.

Get Important Jobs

The project is important because the new settlers will be sent into scientific and educational posts in the United States where their influence may be considerable.

Another budding project to be nurtured by Ford dollars is the Free Russia fund. Headed by George F. Kennan, a former state department consultant, the fund will be used to transport Russian refugees to the United States.

Aiding Kennan will be Dr. Philip E. Mosely, director of the Russian institute of Columbia university, and Frank Altschul, a Roosevelt Republican and retired international banker. Mosely, former chief of the division of territorial studies in the state department, was an adviser to the American delegation at the Potsdam conference in 1945 and subsequently at the foreign ministers council in London.

Altschul is director and treasurer of the National Committee for a Free Europe, a prime mover in the Interventionist Committee on the Present Danger, and former president of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. He claims to be a Republican but contributed \$5,000 to the Democratic national committee during the 1944 Presidential campaign.

The Ford Foundation also is pouring millions into a fund for the "advancement of education" with a board of trustees packed with well known one-worlders. Among the fund's trustees are the following:

Barry Bingham, president and editor of the New Deal-leftist Louisville Courier-Journal; Ralph J. Bunche, director of the United Nations division of trusteeship; Roy E. Larsen, president of Time, Inc.; Walter Lippmann, Washington pundit and columnist who for years employed a Communist as

his confidential secretary, according to the book, "Out of Bondage," by Elizabeth Bentley, former courier for the soviet spy ring; Walter P. Paepcke, trustee of the University of Chicago and close personal friend of Hutchins; Philip D. Reed of General Electric who was connected with the Marshall plan; and Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, a world government advocate.

Table of Grants

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Total

To outside organizations:

Free University of Berlin...	\$ 1,400,000
American Friend Service committee	1,000,000

Institute of International Education to Administer foundation exchange of persons, programs, and to strengthen its own organization...	1,200,000
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Resettlement campaign for exiled professionals	500,000
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National man power council.	250,000
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National Committee for a Free Europe	150,000
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International Press Institute.	150,000
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Unitarian Service committee	130,000
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University of Frankfurt and University of Chicago.....	90,000
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Disarmament study	80,000
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Intercultural study	75,000
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Others [\$60,000 or less].....	346,000
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Total

Grand total

5,371,880

\$22,510,880

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REDS GET CASH IN FUND SET UP BY GUGGENHEIM

Party Followers Given Scholar Awards

BY WILLIAM FULTON
 [Chicago Tribune Press Service]

New York, Oct. 19—Two prime examples of how the Communists have latched onto charitable money raised thru the operation of the capitalist system are the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation and the Julius Rosenwald fund.

The communist infiltration was noted by Rep. Cox [D., Ga.] in a recent speech before the house during which he demanded a congressional inquiry into the conduct of all the big foundations to determine whether money had been diverted into un-American channels. The inquiry has been approved by the house rules committee and Cox has announced he will press for it when congress reconvenes after the new year.

The basis for the Guggenheim philanthropy was laid by Meyer Guggenheim, who migrated to the United States in 1847 from Switzerland and set up a lace business. He founded the smelting and refining industry which was carried on by Simon Guggenheim and his brothers.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

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Memorial to Son

In 1925 the foundation was established by the late United States Sen. Simon Guggenheim and his wife. The fund was started by the grief stricken parents as a memorial to their son, John Simon, who died as a youth. Sen. Guggenheim's letter of gift declared the aims as follows:

"We strongly hope that this foundation will advance human achievement by aiding students to push forward the boundaries of understanding and will enrich human life by aiding them in the cultivation of beauty and taste.

"If, at the close of our lives, looking both backward and forward, we can envision an endless succession of scholars, scientists, and artists aided by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, devoting themselves to these purposes we shall feel that, with the help of our associates, we shall have accomplished the aim which we had set before us, in memory of our son."

Assets Are 25 Million

The Guggenheim Foundation has capital assets of 25 million dollars. Its income is used for the granting of fellowships ranging from \$2,500 to \$3,500 annually. The secretary-general is Henry Allen Moe, an American Rhodes scholar.

How the foundation strayed from its original lofty purpose was revealed by Rep. Cox. He said "Guggenheim money was used to spread radicalism thruout the country to an extent not excelled by any other foundation." Among those with Red records who enjoyed Guggenheim fellowships, he observed, were the following:

Louis Adamic, Newton Arvin, Peggy Bacon, Carleton Beals, Albert Bein, Alvah Bessie, Marc Blitzstein, Kenneth Burke, Harriet Buckmaster, Jack Controy, Aaron Copland, Adolph Dehn, Angna Enters, Kenneth Fearing, Hallie Flanagan, Mordecai Gorelik, William Gropper, Albert Halper, Josephine Herbst, Granville Hicks, Abram L. Harris, Maurice Hindus, Langston Hughes, Rolfe Humphries, and Joe Jones.

Lattimore on List

Otto Klineberg, Owen Lattimore, Douglas S. Moore, Carey McWilliams, Lewis Mumford, Alexander North, Max Nomad, Saul K. Padover, Nathaniel Peffer, Bernard Reiss, Earl Robinson, Isidor Schneider, Harry Slochower, Maxwell S. Stewart, Tom Tippet, Genevieve Taggard, Charles R. Walker, Edmund Wilson, Richard Wright, and William E. Zeuch.

The Langston Hughes referred to is the Negro poet who penned "Goodbye, Christ." This is a poem urging Jesus to "beat it on away from here now" and to "make way for—Marx, communist Lenin, peasant Stalin, worker me." Hughes has enjoyed grants both from Guggenheim and Rosenwald.

Founded on Mail Order Stock

Louis Adamic, who either shot himself or was killed under mysterious circumstances in his blazing New Jersey home recently, was the chief apologist for the communism of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia and had devoted virtually all his literary life to propagandizing the Reds.

Julius Rosenwald founded his philanthropy for "the well-being of mankind" with 227,784 shares of stock in Sears, Roebuck & Co., the Chicago mail order house which he headed. A large share of his fortune went to the betterment of Negroes in the south.

Unlike John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Henry Ford, Guggenheim, and other big foundation builders, Rosenwald opposed phi-

lanthropic trusts in perpetuity. He decreed that all his funds, some 35 millions, should be expended within 25 years of his death. Rosenwald died in 1932 and his trust has been liquidated.

Despite the philanthropist's precautions, his charitable aims were thwarted and during the Roosevelt regime funds were diverted to known Communists and leftists. Rep. Cox named several in this category, including the following:

Langston Hughes, W. E. B. DuBois, Claude McKay, Clark Foreman, James Dombrowski, Ira De A. Reid, Lillian Smith, Shirley Graham, Pearl Primus, Horace Cayton, and John P. Davis.

A. V. C. Dips Into Fund

The American Veterans committee, a radical outfit, also managed to dip into the Rosenwald fund.

Among members of the committee was John Gates, a member of the central committee of the Communist party and editor of the Daily Worker, official communist paper. Gates was convicted with 10 other party leaders of conspiring and advocating the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence.

Rosenwald funds also found their way into the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, included in government citations as a "communist front," and Bethune college. Mrs. Mary McLeod, founder of the latter institution, was named among "well known Communists" by a California legislative report.

Another with Leftist Tinge

Another smaller foundation with a leftist tinge is the Twentieth Century fund. Founded by the late Edward A. Filene, Boston merchant, in 1919, the fund has approximately 5 million dollars in assets. For the first few years, the income was used to study and promote schemes for consumer credit and coöperation, a subject which was one of the founder's major passions.

During the 1930s the fund widened its research to go into investigation of science in industry, waste in distribution, unemployment, corporation finance, and taxation. One of its recent "findings" was that personal income taxes should be raised by 16 billion dollars a year and that tax

laws should be enforced more strictly.

This recommendation came as no surprise because the foundation policies are determined by a group of New Dealers on the board of trustees. Among them are Chester Bowles, A. A. Berle Jr., David E. Lilienthal, Francis Biddle, Sen. Douglas [D., Ill.], and Benjamin V. Cohen.

Fund Openly Aids Reds

One fund which has aided Communists and Red front organizations openly is the Robert Marshall Foundation. Besides advancing money for defense of Communists in the courts, the trust during the last two years appropriated \$100,000 to a group of organizations cited as subversive and communist by the department of justice.

These included the American Youth Congress, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the National Negro Congress, and the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

This notorious foundation was established by Robert Marshall, chief of the division of recreation in the forestry service, who died in 1939. His funds had been handed down to him by his father, Louis Marshall, a member of the law firm of Guggenheim, Untermyer & Marshall.

Marshall left half his estate of \$1,534,070 to aid trade unionism and the other half to advance the cause of civil liberties and the preservation of wild life in America. Operations of the trust have been kept secret from the public.

COMMIES LATCH ONTO AMERICAN CHARITY FUNDS

Guggenheim, Rosenwald Foundations Cited

BY WILLIAM FULTON

New York, Oct. 20 (CTPS) Two prime examples of how the Communists have latched onto charitable moneys raised thru the operation of the capitalist system are the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation and the Julius Rosenwald fund.

The Communist infiltration was noted by Rep. Cox (D) of Georgia in a recent speech before the House during which he demanded a congressional inquiry into the conduct of all the big foundations to determine whether money had been diverted into un-American channels. Already approved by the powerful House rules committee, Cox has announced he will press for the inquiry when Congress reconvenes after the New Year.

Founded by Immigrant

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\$25 Million Assets

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Also Otto Klineberg, Owen Latimore, Douglas S. Moore, Carey McWilliams, Lewi's Mumford, Alexander North, Max Nomad, Saul K. Padover, Nathaniel Peffer, Bernard Reiss, Earl Robinson, Isidor Schneider, Harry Showers, Maxwell S. Stewart, Tom Tippet, Genevieve Taggard, Charles R. Walker, Edmund Wilson, Richard Wright and William E. Zeuch.

Author of "Good-bye Christ"

The Langston Hughes referred to is the Negro poet who penned "Good-bye Christ." This is a poem urging Jesus to "Beat it on away from here now" and to "make way for Marx, Communist, Lenin, Peasant, Stalin, Worker, Me." Hughes has enjoyed grants both from Guggenheim and Rosenwald.

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Julius Rosenwald founded his philanthropy for "the well-being of mankind" with 227,784 shares of stock in Sears, Roebuck & Co., the Chicago mail order house which he headed. A large share of his fortune went to the betterment of Negroes in the South. Rosenwald's biographers say that early in life, as a native and resident of Springfield, Ill., he was shocked by an anti-Negro riot and lynching.

Unlike John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Henry Ford, Guggenheim and other big

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foundation builders, Rosenwald opposed philanthropic trusts in perpetuity. He decreed all his funds, some 35 millions, should be expended within 25 years of his death. Rosenwald died in 1932 and his trust has since been liquidated.

Rosenwald's Reason

"My experience is that trustees controlling large funds are not only desirous of conserving the principal, but even adding to it from surplus income," Rosenwald said, in ordering the early spending of the foundation's capital as well as income.

"I am not in sympathy with this policy of perpetuating endowments and believe more good can be accomplished by expending funds as trustees find opportunities for constructive work instead of storing up large sums of money for long periods. Coming generations can be relied on to provide for their own needs when they arise."

Despite the philanthropist's precautions, his charitable aims were thwarted and during the Roosevelt regime funds were diverted to known Communists and leftists. Rep. Cox named several in this category, including the following:

Radical A.V.C. Aided

Langston Hughes, W. E. B. DuBois, Claude McKay, Clark Foreman, James Dombrowski, Ira de A. Reid, Lillian Smith, Shirley Graham, Pearl Primus, Horace Cayton and John P. Davis.

The American Veterans committee, a radical outfit, also managed to dip into the Rosenwald fund. Among members of the committee was John Gates, member of the central committee of the Communist party and editor of the Daily Worker. Gates was convicted with 10 other party leaders of conspiring and advocating the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence.

Rosenwald funds also found their way into the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, included in government citations as a "Communist front" and Bethune college. Mrs. Mary McLeod, founder of the latter institution, was named among "well-known Communists" by a California legislative report.

Urged Higher Taxes

Another smaller foundation with a leftist tinge is the Twentieth Century fund. Founded by the late Edward A. Filene, Boston merchant, in 1919, the fund has approximately \$5,000,000 in assets. For the first few years the income was used to study and

promote schemes for consumer credit and co-operation, a subject which was one of the founder's major passions.

During the 1930s the fund widened its research to go into investigation of science in industry, waste in distribution, unemployment, corporation finance, and taxation. One of its recent "findings" was that personal income taxes should be raised by 16 billion dollars a year and there should be stricter enforcement of the tax laws.

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Establishment of ACLU An Important Landmark

This is another instalment of a serial presentation of the complete text of the Roger N. Baldwin Foundation Address, delivered March 12 at Columbia by Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., of Harvard University.

Under the title "Thirty-five Years with Freedom of Speech," Prof. Chafee analyzes the history of civil liberties in the U. S. since 1917 and concludes that the present Supreme Court has nullified the First Amendment to the Constitution.

Prof. Chafee now is discussing the "Period of Growth, 1920-1930."

By ZECARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

A third significant event of this decade was the solid establishment of the American Civil Liberties Union. Without such an organization, arrested speakers and writers would have found it very difficult to get efficient lawyers or sometimes any lawyers at all. The constitutional provision entitling the accused "to have the assistance of counsel for his defense" might have remained just empty words on paper.

An ordinary lawyer fears the effect of unpopular cases upon his practice. Lawyers who did defend obnoxious persons were threatened with disbarment then as now, and some were disbarred. Moreover, free speech cases are a specialized branch of the law and call for knowledge and experience which lawyers in general lack.

Therefore, it was a great service to the administration of justice in the United States when in many cities a law-office staffed with trained and conscientious men was available to help courts to reach proper decisions in civil liberties cases.

An institution has been called

"the lengthened shadow of one man." Without meaning to underestimate what their numerous associates did, I think of the American Civil Liberties Union as the lengthened shadow of two men—Walter Nelles the lawyer, and Roger Baldwin the organizer and inspiring guide, in whose honor we meet tonight.

Before I move out of this period, I want to speak of two of its disturbing features. Both concern the IWW, and both are very pertinent to our present situation.

The California Syndicalism Law made the American people familiar for the first time with what had long been an odious feature of political trials in Europe—the renegade as a chief witness for the government. The state used to trot out two former members of the IWW in almost every prosecution. One of them "admitted participation in numberless atrocious offenses" and was judicially characterized as "one of the most reprehensible characters thinkable." Other renegades appeared very frequently.

The testimony of such men sent dozens of migratory workers to prison for years and obtained an injunction to break up the whole IWW organization. At last even jurymen ceased to believe these renegades and convictions stopped.

Another disquieting aspect of these IWW prosecutions is their reliance upon force as the sole remedy for a deep-seated evil. The revolutionary labor union called The Industrial Workers of the World was plainly the product of the disorganized situation of migratory workers, who moved over great distances and hired themselves out for brief periods as one crop after another was ripe for harvest. They had no homes of their own, and few opportunities

to join labor unions of the usual kind. So they drifted aimlessly into a particularly objectionable sort of union.

Unquestionably, the farmers of the Central Valley and their supporters had considerable provocation. They were afflicted with sabotage of agricultural machinery, crop-burning, and other flagrant practices. Since it was difficult to detect the perpetrators of these criminal acts, demands spread for vigorous proceedings against words about such acts—and then against words which did not mention such acts but might conceivably lead somebody to commit them. The behavior and leaflets and speeches of the IWW were bad symptoms of a bad disease.

What I find most disturbing is that the people of California were content with attacking the symptoms and did little about the disease. Until the economic and social disadvantages of the migratory workers, which caused their bitter discontent, were dealt with directly, the use of the tremendous power of the state on behalf of employers, although it might produce a superficial weakening of revolutionary unionism, was sure to intensify the workers' hostility to the state and their belief that government was only the organ of capital. It is a mistake to spend upon mosquito-killing the energy which might be used in draining the swamps where the insects breed.

The IWW prosecutions and injunction may have put an end to the IWW, but the same sort of workers showed up later as Communists. And the suppressions left the problem of migratory labor just as it was.

What did solve that problem was the New Deal measures, which gave some of the common incidents of normal human life to the laborers who are essential to production of fruit and vegetables.

All this offers a lesson for the treatment of Communists today. A blind confidence in the use of force against individuals may do something to lessen harm, but it stops inquiry into peaceful remedies which might be still more effective.

Tolson

Ladd

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Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News

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Date: MAR 19 1952

Use of Benevolent Trust Funds

File: 100-385355

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The question which ought to have been asked by Californians in 1920 was "Why do people join the IWW, and what can we do to make them want to get out of it and live law-abiding lives?"

The question which ought to be asked all over the country in 1952 is "Why do people join the Communist Party of America and what can we do to make them want to get out of it and lead law-abiding lives?"

Driving Communists out of their chosen occupations and putting a stigma on them which makes it almost impossible to obtain any other useful employment will not turn such persons into decent American citizens. Instead, they will be more embittered than ever and they will have no means of keeping alive except to become agitators of a dangerous sort.

(Continued tomorrow)

*File: Use of Benevolent
Trust Funds, etc.*

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House Approves Probe Of Tax-Free Groups to Seek Subversive Ties

By the Associated Press

A special seven-man House committee will investigate tax-exempt educational and philanthropic organizations to determine if they are using their money to promote un-American or subversive activities.

The investigation was approved, 193 to 158, by the House yesterday under a resolution proposed by Representative Cox, Democrat, of Georgia.

Representative Powell, Democrat, of New York said it would be "another witch-hunting committee." Mr. Cox denied this.

Mr. Cox mentioned the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations among those spending large sums of money. He also said some foundations have financed questionable individuals and "represent the Lattimore school of thought."

He indicated the committee may

study "the infiltration of Reds into textbooks used in schools throughout the country."

Representative Celler, Democrat, of New York said the inquiry was directed at the Julius Rosenwald Fund, which has aided Negroes and other minority groups.

The specific job of the new committee will be to find out whether foundations and "comparable organizations" use their resources "for purposes other than the purposes for which they were established."

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Use of Benevolent Trust
Funds, Philanthropies and
Eleemosynary Institution
To Implement The programs
of Subversive Groups

File: Use of Benevolent
Trust Funds, etc.

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This is a clipping from
Page 12-C of the
THE NEW YORK TIMES

Date 4-21-52

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191 To
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191 TO GET GRANTS FROM GUGGENHEIM

Fellowships of Foundation Go to New Peak With Awards That Total \$860,000

23 WINNERS IN THIS CITY

Studies Range From Rockets to Role of Learning in the Maternal Behavior of Rat

The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, in its most generous contribution toward the advancement of creative activities and research into all fields of knowledge, announced yesterday the award of 191 fellowships with grants totaling \$860,000. The recipients include scholars, writers, artists and music composers from the United States, Canada and the British West Indies.

Among the group are twenty-three persons from New York City, including faculty members of Columbia University, the City College of New York, Teachers College, Barnard College, Queens College and New York University.

In another series to be announced later this year awards will be made to citizens and permanent residents of Central America, Caribbean and South American republics and the Philippines.

The foundation, established in 1925 by the late United States Senator Simon Guggenheim and his wife, was named for their son, John Simon Guggenheim, who died three years before. The fellowships are granted without distinction as to race, creed or color. The appointments are made for one-year periods but in exceptional cases extensions are given. The amount of the grants in normal cases is generally about \$3,000 for the year although adjustments are made to fit the needs of each individual fellow.

Committee of Selection

The committee of selection, headed by Dr. Louis Booker Wright, director of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, consults with responsible scholars and artists concerning the candidates' capacity for research and their creative ability. It also seeks to determine if the applicants and the projects they represent could advance to higher levels of accomplishment by virtue of the fellowships.

Other members of the committee are Dr. Edgar Anderson, Professor of Botany, Washington University, St. Louis; Dr. Henri M. Peyre, Professor of French, Yale University; Dr. Carl O. Sauer, Professor of Geography, University of California; and Dr. Edwin Bidwell Wilson, retired Professor of Vital Statistics, Harvard University School of Public Health.

The trustees of the foundation are Mrs. Simon Guggenheim, president; Francis H. Brownell, Roger Straus, John C. Emison, Medley B. Whipple, Charles Merz, Rosell Magill, Elliott V. Bell and Henry Allen Moe, secretary.

Last year the foundation awarded 154 fellowships, amounting to \$800,000. The year before there were 158 fellowships totaling \$800,000. This year's total is the largest since the foundation was established.

The scope of knowledge covered by the fellowships is indicated by following cross-section of top and projects: Rocket navigation, West Indian earthquakes, biology of the camel, medieval social history, totalitarian elements of Marx, processes of life in human behavior, the usage of ancient Anatolia, heal-miracles of the New Testament, the biosynthesis of proteins, role of learning in the maternal behavior of the rat and American popular beliefs and superstitions.

WINNERS AND PROJECTS

The fellows and their fields of work follow:

American History and Biography

Dr. JOHN HORACE PARRY, Professor of Modern History, University College of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica. B. W. I. Municipal government in the Spanish Indies from the conquest to independence.

Dr. CARL PARCHER RUSSELL, Superintendent, Yosemite National Park, California. History of the American West, especially of the trade goods and equipment of fur traders and trappers.

Dr. FRANCIS BUTLER SIMKINS, Associate Professor of Social Sciences, Longwood College, Farmville, Va. Jefferson Davis.

Dr. JULIAN BOYD, Librarian, Princeton University. Thomas Jefferson.

Dr. KENNETH MILTON STAMPP, Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley. Negro slavery in the United States, 1820-60.

Dr. GILBERT CHINARD, retired Professor of Modern Languages and Literature, Princeton University. European concepts relating to America.

Dr. JOHN HORACE PARRY, Professor of Modern History, University College of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica. B. W. I. Municipal government in the Spanish Indies from the conquest to independence.

Dr. CHARLES GIBSON, Assistant Professor of History, State University of Iowa. Valley of Mexico people in colonial times.

Dr. WILLIAM H. JORDY, Instructor in the history of art, Yale University. Effects of the concept of the "City Beautiful" on city planning in the United States.

MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS, Curator, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. The American soldier and painter, Gen. Seth Eastman.

Dr. WALLACE STEIGER, Professor of English, Stanford University. Maj. John Wesley Powell, founder of the plan of scientific bureaus in the Federal Government.

Applied Mathematics

Dr. SAMUEL HERRICK, Professor of Astronomy, University of California, Los Angeles.

Executive secretary, Institute of Navigation. Studies of rocket navigation.

Dr. CHIEH CHEN CHANG, Department of Aeronautics, Johns Hopkins University, consultant, Air Research and Development Command, United States Air Force. Application of mathematics to aeronautical problems.

Dr. HOWARD WILSON EMMONS, Professor of Engineering Sciences, Harvard University. Formation and rate of growth of turbulent bursts.

HAROLD ADOLPH FREEMAN, Professor of Statistics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Statistical methods applied to industrial problems.

Dr. JOHN IVAN STEPHAN SOKOLNIKOFF, Professor of Mathematics, University of California, Los Angeles. Mathematical theory of elasticity.

Chinese Studies

Dr. DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM, Sinologist, Washington, retired teacher, West China Union University, Studies of the Chinese peoples of Southwest China.

Dr. HAROLD BATES KRAUSKOPF, Associate Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature, University of California, Berkeley. Tibetan Buddhist symbolism.

Dr. LEONARD NORMAN LIEBERMAN, Associate Professor of Oriental Languages, University of California, Los Angeles. History of Chinese archaeology.

Earth Sciences

Dr. FARRINGTON DANIELS, Professor of Chemistry, University of Wisconsin. Studies of the utilization of solar energy. Studies of the mechanism of solar treatment.

Dr. PERRY BYERLY, Professor of Selsology, University of California, Berkeley. West Indian earthquakes.

Dr. KONRAD BATES KRAUSKOPF, Professor of Geochemistry, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif. Formation of ore deposits.

Dr. LEONARD NORMAN LIEBERMAN, Associate Professor of Geochemistry, Marine Physics Laboratory, University of California, San Diego. Absorption of sound in liquids.

Dr. DAVID L. KELLEY, Professor of Geology, University of California, Los Angeles. Late Tertiary floras of western North America.

Dr. CARL DAWSON, Associate Professor of Soil Science, Cornell University. Chemical properties of peat soils.

Medicine

Dr. GEORGE EDWARD BURCH, Professor of Medicine, Tulane University Medical School, New Orleans. Studies of sickle cell anemia and methods of its treatment.

Dr. ELVIRA GOETSCH, physician, Los Angeles, California. Natural history of disease, particularly malaria.

Dr. ARNOLD BERNARD SCHEIBEL, Department of Psychiatry, University of Tennessee, Memphis. Structure of the human spinal cord.

Psychology and Education

Dr. HERBERT B. BIRCH, Assistant Professor of Psychology, City College of New York. Studies of the role of learning in the maternal behavior of the rat.

Dr. WILLIAM COURTNEY HAMILTON PRENTICE, Associate Professor of Psychology, Swarthmore College. Interactions between perception and memory.

Dr. ROBERT KING HALL, professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. Comparative education.

Physiology

Dr. KNUD SCHMIDT-NIELSEN, Assistant Professor of Medicine, University of Cincinnati, and Dr. BODIL MIMI SCHMIDT-NIELSEN, research associate, University of Cincinnati. Research on the physiology of the camel and other desert mammals.

Genetics

Dr. RICHARD B. GOLDSCHMIDT, Retired Professor of Zoology, University of California, Berkeley. Genetic theory and evolution.

Dr. JAMES ANGUS JENKINS, Associate Professor of Genetics, University of California, Berkeley. Genetics of the cultivated tomato.

Dr. I. MICHAEL LERNER, Professor of Poultry Husbandry, University of California, Berkeley. Genetics of populations under artificial selection.

Dr. CLARENCE COOK LITTLE, director, Roswell B. Jackson Memorial Laboratory, Harbor, Me. Studies of the effects of regional application of growth-stimulating and growth-retarding substances in mice.

Dr. AARON NOVICK, Assistant Professor of Biophysics, Institute of Radio-biology and Biophysics, University of Chicago. Genetics and physiology of micro-organisms.

Dr. HENRI L. LEWIS ROMAN, Associate Professor of Botany, University of Washington, Seattle. Genetics of yeast.

Dr. SEARLE HILL SMITH, Professor of Genetics, Cornell University. Quantitative character inheritance in tobacco and corn.

Dr. MARGUERITE MARIA VOGT, research fellow in biology, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena. Genetic recombination in bacteria.

Economics

Dr. JOHN THOMAS DUNLOP, Professor of Economics, Harvard University. A study of wages and prices under collective bargaining.

Dr. GEORGE ALEXANDER ELLIOTT, Professor of Political Economy, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. Theory of international trade.

Dr. GEORGE HERBERT HILDEBRAND, Associate Professor of Economics, University of California, Los Angeles. Wages, employment and unemployment in post-war Italy.

Dr. WILLIAM ORVILLE JONES, Associate Professor of Economics, Stanford University. The economics of production, distribution and consumption of the manioc root.

Dr. RAYMOND ADRIEN DE ROOVER, Associate Professor of Economics, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. Medieval financial history.

Social and Political Studies

Dr. JOHN LAWRENCE THOMAS, assistant director, Institute of Social Order and Instructor in Sociology, St. Louis University, St. Louis. Cultural pluralism in the United States.

Dr. NATHAN LAUREL WHITTEN, Professor of Rural Sociology and Dean of the Graduate School, University of Connecticut. Rural life in Connecticut.

Dr. DAN STANISLAWSKI, Professor of Law, Yale University. Studies, mainly from a legal point of view, of the fundamental rights and obligations of the individual citizen in a modern democratic society.

Dr. HANNAH ARENDT, executive secretary, Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc., New York City. A study of totalitarian elements in Marxism.

Dr. HENRY M. PACHTER, New York correspondent for the Deutsche Zeitung of Stuttgart, Germany. Recent changes in the social status of the intelligentsia.

Dr. RODERICK SEIDENBERG, writer and architect, Pipersville, Pa. The processes of change in human society.

European History

Dr. WILLIAM CLARENCE ASKEW, Associate Professor of History, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. Relations of Italy with the Great Powers, 1896-1914.

Dr. GEORGE P. CUTTINO, Associate Professor of History, Swarthmore College and Bryn Mawr College (on leave in service with the Army). History of European culture.

Dr. RICHARD WILDER EMERY, Assistant Professor of History, Queens College, New York City. Credit and trade in southern France, 1250-1350.

Dr. FRANKLIN LEWIS FORD, member of the faculty, Bennington College, Bennington, Vt. History of Strasbourg under the Old Regime.

Dr. FELIX GILBERT, Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley. Political and historical ideas in Italy from 1494 to 1530.

Dr. JAMES RUSSELL MAJOR, Assistant Professor of History, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga. The Estates General of France.

Dr. CHARLES DONALD O'MALLEY, Professor of History, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif. A biographical study of Andreas Vesalius, 1514-64.

English History

Dr. GEORGE R. COFFMAN, retired Professor of English, University of North Carolina. A study, centering on John Gower, of the conservative middle class of fourteenth century England.

Dr. RICHARD KOLLER DIEZ, Professor of English, University of Rochester. Relationship between literature and changes in English literature in the seventeenth century.

Dr. F. MICHAEL KROUSE, Associate Professor of English, University of Cincinnati. Studies of Milton's part, and that of his adversaries, in the controversies after the execution of Charles I of England.

Dr. LEONARD JOHN TRINTERUD, Professor of English, University of Chicago. The rise of Puritanism in England.

Ancient History and Literature

Dr. GIULIANO UGO BONFANTE, Professor of Linguistics, Princeton University. Linguistic studies of hieroglyphic Hittite, a recently deciphered language of ancient Anatolia.

Dr. LIONEL CASSON, Assistant Professor of Classics, New York University. Maritime commerce in Greek and Roman times.

Dr. ALBRECHT COETZE, Professor of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature, Yale University. The Hittite language.

Dr. SOLOMON KATZ, Professor of History, University of Washington, Seattle. Bithynia as a client kingdom of the Roman Empire.

Dr. JAMES ANASTASIOS NOTOPOULOS, Professor of Classics, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. Homeric poetry.

Dr. BROOKS OTIS, Professor of Latin and Greek, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. Roman thought.

Dr. CARL ANGUS ROEBUCK, Assistant Professor of Ancient History, University of Chicago. Economic and social development of the Roman Empire.

Dr. LILY ROSS TAYLOR, Professor of Latin, Bryn Mawr College. Roman politics in the last two centuries of the republic.

Dr. LEON EDWARD WRIGHT, Associate Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, Howard University, Washington, D. C. Historical studies of the healing miracles of the New Testament and of their value for modern life.

Biochemistry

Dr. HALVOR NIELSEN CHRISTENSEN, Professor of Biochemistry, Tufts College, Boston. Rhythmicity of proteins.

Dr. CORWIN HERMAN HANSCH, Associate Professor of Chemistry, Pomona College, Claremont, Calif. Action of plant growth hormones.

Dr. NIELS HAUGAARD, Associate Professor of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania. Enzymatic breakdown of proteins.

Dr. JAMES WILLIAM MOULDER, Assistant Professor of Biochemistry, University of Chicago. Bacterial metabolism of serine.

Dr. WILLIAM CUMMING ROSS, Professor of Biochemistry, University of Illinois. Biochemical role of the amino acids.

Dr. CARL SWENSON VESTLING, Assistant Professor of Chemistry, University of Illinois. Isolation of liver enzymes.

Dr. JOHN HENRY WELSH, Associate Professor of Zoology, Harvard University. Action of acetylcholine.

Embryology

Dr. RICHARD MARSHALL EAKIN, Professor of Zoology, University of California, Berkeley. Development of the lobes of the amphibian pituitary gland.

Dr. JANE M. OPPENHEIMER, Associate Professor of Biology, Bryn Mawr College. Embryological development of the brain of the bony fish.

Dr. DOROTHEA RUDNICK, Instructor in Biology, Albertus Magnus College, New Haven, Conn. A study, using the chick embryo, of the enzyme systems assumed to initiate protein syntheses.

Botany

Dr. NORMAN HILL BOKE, Associate Professor of Plant Sciences, University of Oklahoma. Shoot development in cacti.

Dr. HAROLD JOHNSTON BRODIE, Associate Professor of Botany, Indiana University, Philadelphia. Biology of the Nidulariaceae fungi.

Dr. CLAIR ALAN BROWN, Professor of Botany, Louisiana State University, Louisiana. Lignite compared with European lignites.

Dr. MARION STILLWELL CAVE, lecturer in Botany, University of California, Berkeley. Evolutionary status of certain lower plant groups.

Dr. ELMER DREW MERRILL, Arnold Professor of Botany, University of California, Berkeley. Indo-Malayan and Philippine floras.

Dr. ROSE SINGER, visiting professor, Miguel Lillo Institute, Tucuman, Argentina. Mycological flora of South America.

Dr. TRUMAN GEORGE YUNCKER, Professor of Botany, DePaul University, Greenacres, Ind. Plant life of the Tongan Islands.

Entomology

RONALD GORDON FENNAH, entomologist, Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad, B. W. I. Entomology: the Lesser Antilles.

Dr. WILLIAM STEEL CREIGHTON, Associate Professor of Biology, City College of New York. Distribution of ants in the southwestern United States.

Ornithology

HERBERT GIRTON DEIGNAN, associate curator of birds, National Museum, Washington, D. C. Bird distribution in Southeast Asia.

Dr. SIDNEY DILLON RIPLEY, 2d, Assistant Professor of Zoology, Yale University. B. of the Moluccan Islands.

Other Biology

Dr. DEMOREST DAVENPORT, Assistant Professor of Zoology, University of California, Santa Barbara. Relations between parasitism and hosts.

Dr. GORDON ENOCH GATES, biologist, bridge, Mass. Tropical earthworms.

Dr. CARL L. HUBBS, Professor of Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, N. C. University of California. Scripps Institution of Oceanography, La Jolla, Calif. Freshwater fish of the Northeast Mexico.

Dr. ERNEST EDWARD WILLIAMS, Instructor, CHARLES MACHENHEIMER MILLS, Brooklyn, N. Y. City College of New York. Living land tortoises.

Dr. DIXIE LEE RAY, Assistant Professor of Zoology, University of Washington, Seattle. Biology of soil amoebae.

Folklore

Dr. ARTHUR LEON CAMPA, Professor of Modern Languages, University of Southern California. Spanish legends in the American Southwest.

Dr. WAYLAND D. HAND, Associate Professor of German, University of California, Los Angeles. American popular beliefs and superstitions.

Dr. FRANCIS LEE UTLEY, Professor of English, Ohio State University. Apocryphal legends of the Flood, amplified from the Bible and comparative literature.

Dr. LOUISE H. BURCHFIELD, Associate Professor of Art, Cleveland Museum of Art. Studies of the portrait miniature.

Dr. GEORGE ALEXANDER KUBLER, Professor of History of Art, Yale University. Architecture of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies.

Dr. PHYLLIS WILLIAMS LEHMANN, Assistant Professor of Art, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. Greek cult buildings of the Hellenistic Age.

Dr. ELIZABETH READ SUNDERLAND, Asst. English, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. Letters and papers of James Watson Cooper.

Dr. EVERETT CARTER, Assistant Professor of English, University of California, Berkeley. The age of realism in American fiction.

Dr. THOMAS H. JOHNSON, chairman, Department of English, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J. The writings of Emily Dickinson.

JAY LEYDA, writer, Los Angeles, Calif. Life and creative development of Emily Dickinson.

English Literature

Dr. ALLEN TRACY HAZEN, Professor of English, Columbia University. The poetry of Horace Walpole.

Dr. FREDERICK ALBERT POTTLE, Sterling Professor of English, Yale University. Graphical studies of James Boswell.

Dr. ALINE MACKENZIE TAYLOR, Assistant Professor of English, Newcomb College of Tulane University, New Orleans, La. Acting on the English stage in the eighteenth century.

Dr. JAMES KESTER SVENDSEN, Professor of English, University of Oklahoma. The development of science in Milton's thought and art.

European Literatures

Dr. BRUCE WEAR WARDROP, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Johns Hopkins University. Religious parodies of Spanish literature.

Dr. ALAN FRANK CLIFFORD, Assistant Professor of French, Yale University. Baroque style in French literature, 1570-1650.

Dr. DONALD MURDOCH FRANK, Assistant Professor of French, Columbia University. The development of Montaigne's thought.

Dr. HENRY CARAWAY HATFIELD, Assistant Professor of German, Columbia University. The rise of paganism in German literature.

Chemistry

Dr. WILLIAM ANDREW BONNER, Associate Professor of Organic Chemistry, Stanford University. Asymmetric synthesis of amino compounds.

Dr. EDWARD BOYD, associate professor, chemistry division, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Tenn. Statistical thermodynamics of macromolecules.

Dr. ALAN FRANK CLIFFORD, Assistant Professor of Chemistry, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago. The hydrogen bond in solvents.

Dr. JERRY DONOHUE, senior fellow in chemistry, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena. X-ray analysis of the structure of crystalline proteins.

Dr. HARRY GEORGE DRICKAMER, Assistant Professor of Chemical Engineering, University of Illinois. Physical and chemical properties of substances at high pressures and at low temperatures.

Dr. WILLIAM DULANEY GWINN, Assistant Professor of Chemistry, University of California, Berkeley. Molecular structure.

Dr. RALPH STANLEY HALFORD, Assistant Professor of Chemistry, Columbia University. Vibrational spectra of molecular crystals.

Dr. KENNETH WAYNE HEDBERG, research fellow in chemistry, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena. Structures of molecules.

Dr. TERRELL LESLIE HILL, chemist, Medical Research Institute, Bethesda, Md. Thermodynamic functions of the gases of the troposphere.

Dr. NATHAN KORNBLUTH, Associate Professor of Chemistry, Purdue University. Laboratory. Substitution reactions involving anions.

Dr. JOHN D. ROBERTS, Associate Professor of Chemistry, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Studies of the occurrence of the structures of nonclassical carbocation intermediates in organic reactions.

Dr. HAROLD RAY SNYDER, Professor of Chemistry, University of Illinois. The synthesis of tryptophan derivatives.

Dr. CHARLES WIESNER, Professor of Chemistry, University of New Brunswick, Saint John, N. B., Canada. Structure of macromolecules.

Popular Science

JOHN EDWARD PEIFFER, chemist, New York City. Studies of the evolution of the atom.

Dr. EINAR HILLE, 1st, Yale University. Statistical mechanics.

Dr. ISIDORE ISAAC ANTONOFF, Professor of Mathematics, University of St. Louis.

Dr. ARTHUR EVERETT of Mathematics, Lehigh University. The theoretical points of a calculus.

Dr. HERBERT ELLIS CARROLL, Probability, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Trigonometric series.

Dr. EDWIN HENRY DUALITY, University of Chicago. General recursive mathematical applications.

Dr. ANDRE WEIL, University of Chicago. General recursive mathematical applications.

Dr. RUDOLF CARNAP, University of Chicago. Field between logic and philosophy.

Dr. JOHN RENFRED GLENN RAYMOND, Philosophy, University of Chicago. Studies of Plato's Latin and political.

Dr. THEODORE H. B. Theory of the mechanics.

Dr. HERBERT PHILIP, National Bureau of Standards, Md. Mechanical.

Dr. RICHARD GILDEA, Professor of Oklahoma. Radiations.

Dr. DARAGH EDMUND, Professor of Physics, University of California, Berkeley. Interactions between.

Dr. HERBERT DOUGLAS, Professor of Physics, University of California, Berkeley. Structures of complex molecules.

Dr. JOSEPH BENJAMIN, Professor of Anthropology, Los Angeles.

Dr. WALTER COLLINS, Commissioner of Agriculture, New Hampshire. Durable views of the tropics.

Dr. ALEXANDER SPOFFORD, Chicago. Studies of the evolution of the atom.

Dr. JOHN D. ROBERTS, Associate Professor of Chemistry, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Studies of the occurrence of the structures of nonclassical carbocation intermediates in organic reactions.

Dr. HAROLD RAY SNYDER, Professor of Chemistry, University of Illinois. The synthesis of tryptophan derivatives.

Dr. CHARLES WIESNER, Professor of Chemistry, University of New Brunswick, Saint John, N. B., Canada. Structure of macromolecules.

Popular Science

JOHN EDWARD PEIFFER, chemist, New York City. Studies of the evolution of the atom.

PHO

N. H. Letters and papers of James Fenimore Cooper.

Dr. EVERETT CARTER, Assistant Professor of English, University of California, Berkeley. The age of realism in American letters.

Dr. THOMAS H. JOHNSON, chairman, Department of English, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J. The writings of Emily Dickinson.

JAY LEYDA, writer, Los Angeles, Calif. The life and creative development of Emily Dickinson.

English Literature

Dr. ALLEN TRACY HAZEN, Professor of English, Columbia University. The library of Horace Walpole.

Dr. FREDERICK ALBERT POTTLE, Sterling Professor of English, Yale University. Biographical studies of James Boswell.

Dr. ALINE MACKENZIE TAYLOR, Associate Professor of English, Newcomb College of Tulane University, New Orleans. Forms of acting on the English stage in the eighteenth century.

Dr. JAMES KESTER SVENDSEN, Professor of English, University of Oklahoma. The place of science in Milton's thought and art.

European Literatures

Dr. BRUCE WEAR WARDROPPER, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Johns Hopkins University. Religious-parodies of Spanish secular literature.

Dr. IMBRIE BUFFUM, Assistant Professor of French, Yale University. Baroque style in French literature, 1570-1659.

Dr. DONALD MURDOCH FRAME, Associate Professor of French, Columbia University. The development of Montaigne's thought.

Dr. HENRY CARAWAY HATFIELD, Associate Professor of German, Columbia University. The rise of paganism in German literature.

Chemistry

Dr. WILLIAM ANDREW BONNER, Associate Professor of Organic Chemistry, Stanford University. Asymmetric synthesis of organic compounds.

Dr. GEORGE EDWARD BOYD, associate director, chemistry division, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Tenn. Statistical thermodynamics of macromolecules.

Dr. ALAN FRANK CLIFFORD, Assistant Professor of Chemistry, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago. The hydrogen fluoride solvent system.

Dr. JERRY DONOHUE, senior fellow in chemistry, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena. X-ray analysis of the structure of crystalline proteins.

Dr. HARRY GEORGE DRICKAMER, Associate Professor of Chemical Engineering, University of Illinois. Physical and chemical properties of substances at high pressures and at high temperatures.

Dr. WILLIAM DULANEY GWINN, Associate Professor of Chemistry, University of California, Berkeley. Molecular structure.

Dr. RALPH STANLEY HALFORD, Associate Professor of Chemistry, Columbia University. Vibrational spectra of molecular crystals.

Dr. KENNETH WAYNE HEDBERG, research fellow in chemistry, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena. Structures of gas molecules.

Dr. TERRELL LESLIE HILL, chemist, Naval Medical Research Institute, Bethesda, Md. Thermodynamic functions of the liquid state.

Dr. NATHAN KORNBLUM, Associate Professor of Chemistry, Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind. Substitution reactions involving bidentate anions.

Dr. JOHN D. ROBERTS, Associate Professor of Chemistry, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Studies of the occurrence and the structures of nonclassical cationic intermediates in organic reactions.

Dr. HAROLD RAY SNYDER, Professor of Chemistry, University of Illinois. Studies of the synthesis of tryptophan derivatives.

Dr. CHARLES WIESNER, Professor of Chemistry, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N. B., Canada. Structure of mould metabolites.

Popular Science

JOHN EDWARD PFEIFFER, science writer.

New York City. Studies of recent theories of the evolution of the universe.

Mathematics

Dr. EINAR HILLE, Professor of Mathematics, Yale University. Study of semi-groups.

Dr. ISIDORE ISAAC HIRSCHMAN JR., Assistant Professor of Mathematics, Washington University, St. Louis. Fourier analysis and synthesis.

Dr. ARTHUR EVERETT PITCHER, Professor of Mathematics, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. The theory of critical levels and critical points of a function on a space and its subspaces.

Dr. HERBERT ELLIS ROBBINS, Professor of Mathematical Statistics, University of North Carolina. Probability theory.

Dr. RAPHAEL SALEM, Professor of Mathematics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Trigonometric series.

Dr. EDWIN HENRY SPANIER, Assistant Professor of Mathematics, University of Chicago. Duality in homotopy theory.

Dr. ANDRE WEIL, Professor of Mathematics, University of Chicago. Borderline problems between number theory and algebraic geometry.

Mathematical Logic

Dr. RUDOLF CARNAP, Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago. A study of the boundary field between logic and mathematics.

Dr. JOHN RENEFER MYHILL, Instructor in Philosophy, Yale University. The theory of general recursive functions and its mathematical applications.

Philosophy

Dr. RODERICK FIRTH, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Swarthmore College. Foundations of empirical knowledge.

Dr. GLENN RAYMOND MORROW, Professor of Philosophy, University of Pennsylvania. Studies of Plato's Laws and of Greek legislation and political tradition.

Physics

Dr. THEODORE H. BERLIN, Associate Professor of Physics, Johns Hopkins University. Theory of the mechanism of condensation of gases.

Dr. HERBERT PHILIP BROIDA, research physicist, National Bureau of Standards, Bethesda, Md. Mechanism of gaseous combustion.

Dr. RICHARD GILDART FOWLER, Associate Professor of Engineering Physics, University of Oklahoma. Radiation processes in gas discharges.

Dr. DARRAGH EDMUND NAGLE, Assistant Professor of Physics, University of Chicago. Interactions between mesons and nucleons.

Dr. HERTHA DOROTHEA ELISABETH SPONER, Professor of Physics, Duke University, Durham, N. C. Structural properties of complex molecules.

Anthropology

DOUGLAS MACRAE TAYLOR, fruit farmer, ethnologist, Nagua, Dominica, B. W. I. The Black Carib language of British Honduras.

Dr. JOSEPH BENJAMIN BIRDSSELL, Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles. Evolution in primitive human populations.

Dr. WALTER COLLINS O'KANE, retired Deputy Commissioner of Agriculture of the State of New Hampshire, Durham, N. H. Beliefs and views of the Hopi Indians.

Dr. ALEXANDER SPOER, curator of oceanic ethnology, Chicago Natural History Museum. Peoples and cultures of Micronesia.

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Seven Named to Probe Tax-Free Foundations

By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

A special seven-member House committee to investigate whether nonprofit foundations are using tax-exempt status for "Un-American" activities was named yesterday by Speaker Sam Rayburn.

The new committee, urged by Rep. E. E. Cox (D-Ga.), was authorized by the House on a vote of 194 to 158 after heated debate on April 4.

Its critics have charged it amounts to creating a subversion investigating group with an unlimited field of inquiry, empowered to put "ideas" on trial. Its supporters deny that.

Cox already has said that the Rockefeller Foundation, the Guggenheim Foundation, the Rosenwald Fund and the Robert Marshall Foundation have given financial help to Communists or Communist fronts.

Cox was named chairman of the special committee. Other members are Brooks Hays (D-Ark.), Donald L. O'Toole (D-N.Y.), Aime J. Forand (D-R.I.), Richard M. Simpson (R-Pa.), Angier L. Goodwin (R-Mass.), and B. Carroll Reece (R-Tenn.).

Rep. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) has said that "what is sought to be put on trial here before the proposed official committee are the social purposes which these organizations to be investigated are helping and nothing else." Many Democrats and Republicans made similar claims.

The resolution creating the committee authorizes it to investigate "educational and philanthropic foundations and other comparable organizations" which are tax-exempt.

It is empowered to determine if they "are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities or for purposes not in the interest or tradition of the United States."

File: Use of Benevolent Trusts etc.

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Use of Benevolent Trusts & Funds Philanthropies and Eleemosynary Institutions to Implement the programs of Subversive groups

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Page 1 of the

THE WASHINGTON POST
Dated MAY 1, 1952
Clipped at the Seat of
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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds
Philanthropies and Eleemosynary
Institutions To Implement The
Programs of Subversive Groups

WASHINGTON--THE HOUSE APPROVED \$75,000 FOR AN INVESTIGATION TO FIND OUT IF TAX-EXEMPT EDUCATIONAL AND PHILANTHROPIC ORGANIZATIONS ARE PROMOTING "SUBVERSIVE" ACTIVITIES.

APPROVAL CAME ON A 247 TO 99 ROLL CALL. THE INVESTIGATION, HEADED BY REP. D. EUGENE COX (D-GA.), HAS AUTHORITY TO LOOK INTO VIRTUALLY ANY TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATION TO DETERMINE WHETHER IT SHELTERS "SUBVERSIVE" MOVEMENTS OR OTHER ACTIONS NOT "IN THE INTEREST OR TRADITION OF THE UNITED STATES."

COX HAS IN THE PAST BEEN SEVERELY CRITICAL OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS INCLUDING THE ROCKEFELLER, GUGGENHEIM AND JULIUS ROSENWALD GROUPS.

REP. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL (D-N.Y.) HAS CHARGED THAT THE COMMITTEE IS A "WITCH-HUNTING COMMITTEE TO SPREAD HYSTERIA AND FEAR."

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X Use of Benevolent Trust Funds
 Philanthropies and Eleemosynary
 Institutions To Implement the
 programs of subversive groups

Tax-Exempt Groups Under House Study

Inquiry Seeks Evidence of Subversive Activities

WASHINGTON, July 3 (AP).—A special House committee set up machinery today for an investigation of tax-exempt educational and philanthropic foundations in a search for evidence of un-American and subversive activities.

The chairman, Rep. E. E. Cox, D., Ga., announced appointment of Harold M. Keele of Chicago as counsel and told reporters the inquiry will get under way shortly but that "there will be no quick hearings."

The House voted to give the special committee \$75,000 to conduct its inquiry. The study was suggested by Rep. Cox three months ago. At that time he mentioned the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations as being large money-spenders and said some foundations have financed questionable individuals and "represent the Lattimore school of thought."

This was a reference to Owen Lattimore, Johns Hopkins University professor and Far Eastern expert who was accused by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee yesterday of intentionally serving the cause of Communism. Mr. Lattimore said the charges were untrue and that the subcommittee's call for perjury prosecution was "fantastic."

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Main Summer Probes To Center on Condon, Tax-Exempt Groups

By Robert K. Walsh

Congressional investigators will fight it out this summer long after the House and Senate adjourn this week.

The major probes will center on Dr. Edward U. Condon, former director of the National Bureau of Standards, and on tax exempt philanthropic foundations.

This was assured late yesterday, when the House Committee on Un-American Activities announced it would subpoena Dr. Condon to testify in the near future.

Almost at the same hour, a new special committee headed by Representative Cox, Democrat, of Georgia got \$75,000 in expense money from the House and appointed a special counsel to launch a study of the foundations.

Harold M. Keele, 50-year-old lawyer and a former assistant United States Attorney in that city, was chosen for the \$12,000 job with the Cox committee.

That committee will try to determine whether any tax-exempt foundations are tinged with policies, operations or personnel that are contrary to the best traditions of the United States.

May Probe Many Groups

Mr. Cox and Mr. Keele explained that the investigation might cover "a great many" organizations. But they promised that the committee will act "fairly, impartially and judiciously, with full consciousness that an investigation conducted recklessly, unfairly or ineptly can and sometimes does not only fail of its objective but may do more harm than good." They insisted the investigation does not imply hostility toward any foundation.

With Mr. Cox on the committee are Representatives Hays of Arkansas, O'Toole of New York and Forand of Rhode Island, Democrats, and Simpson of Illinois, Goodwin of Massachusetts and Reece of Tennessee, Republicans.

The scheduled subpoena of Dr. Condon by the Committee on Un-American Activities climaxes a controversy that has continued for several years between him and several present or past members.

Use of Benevolent Trust
Funds, Philanthropies and
Elevemosynary Institutions
to Implement the programs
of subversive groups

Protest by Condon

A subcommittee once described him as the "weakest link in the Nation's atomic security." Dr. Condon vigorously protested. Although some members, at that time, said the committee was ready to hear him, he reportedly was not formally invited until recently.

Representative Velde, Republican, of Illinois, a committee member, and Representative Vail, Illinois Republican, who formerly served on the committee, said Dr. Condon last month turned down an invitation.

Mr. Velde last week moved to have a subpoena issued. The committee adopted a substitute motion to take no action until all available material on Dr. Condon could be compiled by the staff. Committee Chairman Wood late yesterday announced that the committee decided to subpoena Dr. Condon, who now is employed by a manufacturing concern in New York State.

Besides allotting the \$75,000 in expense money to the Cox Committee, the House approved an additional \$50,000 for the King subcommittee to complete its investigation of the Internal Revenue Bureau. The House also provided \$30,000 for a special committee to watch political expenditures this year, and \$25,000 for a special committee to look into indecent books and similar pornographic material.

The total allotted yesterday brought to well over \$3 million the total amount appropriated for special investigations during the 82nd Congress.

House action was blocked yesterday, probably for the remainder of this Congress, on a proposal to spend \$100,000 for a study of the effectiveness of rain-making activities of Federal agencies.

The House also refused to act on a proposal to print, in a single volume, the inaugural addresses of all Presidents from George Washington up to and including Harry Truman.

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LET'S LOOK AT OUR
FOUNDATIONS

By William Fulton

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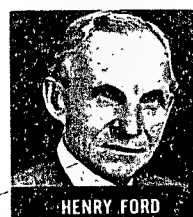
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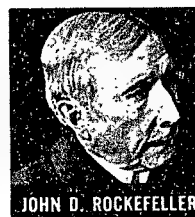
THE AMERICAN LEGION
AUGUST 1952

Let's look at our FOUNDATIONS

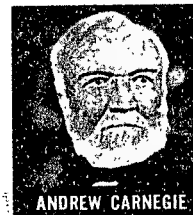
The names of Ford, Rockefeller, Carnegie and Rosenwald are synonymous with capitalism, but in some mysterious manner millions of dollars left by such capitalists have fallen into strange hands.



HENRY FORD



JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER



ANDREW CARNEGIE



JULIUS ROSENWALD

These captains of industry probably would have disapproved many of the grants made by foundations bearing their names.

BY WILLIAM FULTON

IN THE EARLY days of the American communist movement, Stalin's agents smuggled millions of dollars' worth of Czarist jewels into this country for the financing of his subversive activities. A few years later, the Kremlin's operatives brought in millions of counterfeit dollars for the same purpose. All this has been made a matter of public record in sworn testimony.

Times have changed, however, and the American communists are no longer dependent upon gold, jewels, or counterfeit money smuggled in from abroad.

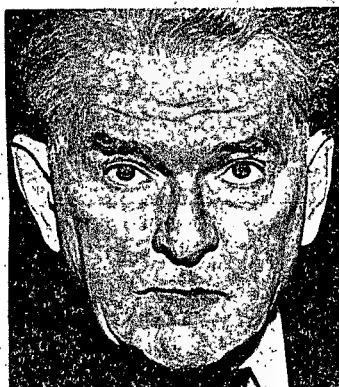
What happens nowadays is that the Kremlin agents get some of their necessary bankroll right here in the United States, and what is even more shocking is that they get it in part from funds and foundations established under the very capitalistic system which they seek to destroy.

Communists have long been proud of their ability to get non-communists to do a lot of their subversive work. They have been just as adept at getting the non-communist dollars of the great foundations to finance their revolutionary projects.

These foundations are the huge pools of capital created by industrial tycoons and merchant princes—the funds left by the Carnegies, Rockefellers, Rosenwalds, and Fords for the betterment of mankind. Their large tax-exempt income is dipped into by outright communists, fellow travelers, socialists, do-gooders, one-worlders, wild-eyed Utopians, and well-meaning dupes.

So successfully have radicals of all hues been draining the funds of the liberal American philanthropies that an alarmed Congress earlier this year decided to undertake an investigation "to determine which such foundations and organizations are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities."

CALLS FOR INVESTIGATION



Congressman Eugene Cox (D., Ga.) whose resolution provides for an investigation into foundations.

ties or for purposes not in the interest or traditions of the United States."

Representative Eugene Cox, author of the resolution to investigate, took the position that although foundations are private institutions and in many fields have been beneficial to the commonweal, they exert tremendous influence

upon public thought by means of the way in which they channel their almost inexhaustible funds. It was altogether fitting and proper, the Georgian argued, to turn the spotlight of public scrutiny on the inner workings of the foundations to find out if their actions are consistent with the public welfare. There are approximately 10,000 of them, big and little, according to Treasury estimates, and the total capital reservoir involved is in excess of three billion dollars.

How do the Stalinites and their stooges dip their buckets into the foundation pool?

They do it by masking the contributions they receive as legitimate and charitable. Millions of dollars have been ladled out to communists and red-front organizations under such euphemisms as fellowships, scholarships, research, studies for such humanitarian causes as international peace, better human relations, and the like. Sometimes the ultimate beneficiary of such funds is hidden by cleverly relaying the money through two or even three intermediary foundations.

If they are not deterred by powerful pressures, the Congressional investigators will find other instances like that of Alger Hiss, the traitor who became head of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the notorious Institute of Pacific Relations, a communist-infested outfit financed largely by the foundations. Hiss was a strategically-placed State Department official at

FOR THE MOST PART OUR GREAT FOUNDATIONS HAVE DONE A WORLD OF GOOD



They have fought sickness. Here a field worker for the Rockefeller Foundation collects blood samples for use in the control of yellow fever.



They have helped to spread knowledge. This Carnegie Library at Huntington, W. Va., is one of hundreds of Carnegie-endowed libraries.

Yalta where vital concessions were made to Russia. He was also secretary of the San Francisco Conference which created the United Nations. The Institute of Pacific Relations followed the Soviet line on the Far East and greatly influenced the State Department in the series of diplomatic defeats that ended in the Korean conflict. (See *The Strange Case of the I.P.R.*, March, 1952 issue, *The American Legion Magazine*.)

It is a phenomenon of these big trusts that the names of favored individuals and organizations keep bobbing up for financial aid. Another phenomenon is that the directorates are quite often interlocking.

Alger Hiss is an example. He became a vested interest in the world of the foundations. Besides enjoying a \$20,000-a-year job as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, an 11-million-dollar trust, from 1946 to 1949 when trials laid bare his perfidy, Hiss had a hand in several other foundations. He was a trustee of both the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the World Peace Foundation. He was also a director of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, the American Peace

(Continued on page 42)

BUT WHAT ABOUT GRANTS THEY'VE MADE TO SUCH PEOPLE AS THESE?



Alger Hiss
From State Department, to Carnegie Corporation, to the penitentiary.



Owen Lattimore
The controversial "Dr." wangled millions for his Johns Hopkins school.



Hanns Eisler
The brother of the infamous spy got a rich grant from the Rockefellers.



Louis Adamic
The late pro-commie author was "one of the greediest" beneficiaries.



Thomas I. Emerson
Yale professor who was head of the subversive National Lawyers' Guild.



Carey McWilliams
His front record didn't interfere with a grant from the Guggenheims.



Maurice Hindus
Another pro-commie author who benefited from the Guggenheim millions.



Langston Hughes
He too had his hand out for capitalist dollars. Remember his poem?



Dr. Harold Rugg
From Carnegie came almost a half-million for his department at Columbia.



What caused two foundations to come through with \$45,000 for Sarah Lawrence College when this Yonkers, N. Y., school was under Legion attack for having pro-commies on its faculty?

Let's Look At Our Foundations

(Continued from page 23)

Society, and the American Association for the United Nations.

Hiss had a friend named Laurence H. Duggan, likewise a former State Department official. Duggan succeeded his father as head of the Institute of International Education. This organization has had the financial support not only of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Carnegie Corporation but of more than a dozen other foundations, as well as handsome contracts from the State Department. In December of 1948 Laurence H. Duggan jumped or was hurled to his death from his New York office window. He had been questioned a few days earlier by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation about his association with Alger Hiss and other suspected red agents.

Another prominent figure who has wielded immense influence at the State Department and the White House and who has received considerable sums of foundation money is Professor Owen Lattimore. Lattimore has denied that he is a communist, but his writings have followed the pro-Soviet line on the Far East. Senator McCarran told the Senate that Lattimore's role in the "shaping of United States policy with respect to China was a factor in the success of Communism in that land." He recalled that Lattimore had made "deliberate and adroit attempts to mold American thinking" on the Far East.

Professor Lattimore long ago journeyed to China on a travel and research grant from the Social Science Research Council. This agency has received more than \$6,000,000 from the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the Russell Sage Foundation, the Twentieth Century Fund, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the General Education Board (Rockefeller), the Spelman Fund (Rockefeller), the Commonwealth Fund, and the Grant Foundation.

Lattimore continued to receive fellowships as the years wore on. There was one from the Harvard-Yenching Institute, heavily endowed by Rockefeller and Carnegie, two from the J. Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fund, and a grant-in-aid for field work in Mongolia from the Institute of Pacific Relations. Lattimore edited the iniquitous red-slanted publication, *Amerasia*, largely a product of I.P.R. members.

The I.P.R. itself was underwritten by both Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations to the extent of \$2,176,000 from 1925 through 1950. Lattimore's own Department of International Relations at Johns Hopkins received \$885,000

from one Carnegie fund during 1949-50 and has tapped other foundations in the amount of \$2,000,000. As a fund-raiser, Lattimore has no peer. What school would willingly part with such a dollar attracter, no matter what his views?

Professor John King Fairbank of Harvard, an I.P.R. trustee, a Lattimore protégé, and also an "expert" on the Far East, was denied entry to Japan last year. The United States Army refused a permit, although Fairbank swore to an affidavit denying he had ever been a communist.

Congress might well look into the curious reasons why the Rockefeller Foundation picked up the check for the I.P.R. meeting at Lucknow, India, in October of 1950. The session on "Nationalism in the Far East" actually was a forum in which communist speakers attacked Americans and the U.S.A.

Another organization bent on molding public opinion which always has its hand out to the big foundations is the Foreign Policy Association, the most powerful outfit of its kind in the country. In the interest of left-wing internationalism the Foreign Policy Association distributes millions of pamphlets and sends out a small army of speakers to its branches. F.P.A. publications for many years were accorded quasi-official recognition and priority by the State Department in training and indoctrinating its personnel. They received similar recognition from some of the Armed Forces.

The Rockefeller Foundation contributed \$625,000 to the Foreign Policy Association between 1934 and 1945. In 1945 the foundation handed the F.P.A. another grant of \$200,000, following it up with \$20,000 in 1950. This year the Ford Foundation, biggest trust of them all, with assets of nearly 500 million dollars and an income of 25 million a year to spend, gave the F.P.A. a financial shot in the arm of \$355,000. The money will be applied to a three-year, \$600,000 expansion program for developing "world affairs councils" throughout the country. Carnegie has also pumped funds into the F.P.A.

Vera Micheles Dean, not particularly noted for ever having opposed or criticized Soviet foreign policy, is a prolific writer for the F.P.A.

One of the strangest Rockefeller grants was \$110,000 to Cornell University in 1948 for a study of "civil liberties and the control of subversive activities." None other than Professor Walter F. Gellhorn of Columbia University, whose name had been unfavorably mentioned in the investigations of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, was assigned to write the

first volume of these Cornell studies.

Congressional records reveal Gellhorn as a leader of the National Lawyers Guild, which, according to the judgment of the House Committee, is "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party." Although Gellhorn's left-wing connections were exposed, the Rockefeller Foundation went right ahead and turned over another \$20,000 grant to him in 1950. Four volumes of the Rockefeller-subsidized Cornell project have already appeared. In their one-sided treatment of all legislative investigations of communism, they have been of solid comfort to our communist traitors.

When Hanns Eisler, brother of the notorious Soviet agent, Gerhardt Eisler, needed funds, the Rockefeller Foundation took care of him. Hanns voluntarily quit the United States when he was about to be deported as an alien communist. Hanns received a Rockefeller grant for a music study course. The man was a known communist. His main distinction was that of composing the "Comintern March" and other tunes in the red song book.

The Rockefeller Foundation has an affinity for things Russian. In 1944, the big trust came up with a half-million-dollar grant for the translation and publication of Soviet books in the United States. The executive head of the organization which received the grant, the American Council of Learned Societies, was head of the committee which raised funds for the defense of John Stewart Service, State Department officer mixed up in the *Amerasia* stolen documents case, who was recently dismissed as a doubtful security risk.

Millions of American dollars have also been ladled out by the Rockefeller Foundation to the London School of Economics. This institution has been the principal culture medium for the breeding of communists, crypto-communists and socialists in England, many of whom have come to the United States to "educate" us. The late Professor Harold Laski, mastermind of the British Labour Party, taught at the London School.

One of the greediest feeders at the foundation trough was the late Louis Adamic. Adamic, who either shot himself or was murdered in his New Jersey home, was a member of some fifty communist-front organizations. He devoted most of his literary life to glorifying the Soviets and became the chief apologist in the United States for Tito, communist dictator of Yugoslavia. The Carnegie Corporation gave him grants-in-aid while he was writing his books. He also received money from the

Rockefeller Foundation over the years.

Adamic was editor of a magazine called *Common Ground*, a publication largely financed with Carnegie money. On his editorial board was Langston Hughes, the Negro poet who has sustained himself during much of his adult life on foundation grants. Hughes' best known poem, "Goodbye Christ," urges Jesus to "beat it on away from here now" to "make way for Marx, Communist Lenin, Peasant Stalin, Worker Me."

Congress will find no more fertile field for investigation of the way philanthropic funds have been subverted than in the doling out of grants by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation; a 25-million-dollar trust set up by the late United States Senator Simon Guggenheim and his wife. The foundation hands out fellowships ranging from \$2,500 to \$3,000.

According to Congressman Cox, "Guggenheim money was used to spread radicalism throughout the country to an extent not excelled by any other foundation." He listed Guggenheim fellows with outright communist or red-front connections as follows:

Louis Adamic, Newton Arvin, Peggy Bacon, Carleton Beals, Albert Bein, Alvah Bessie, Marc Blitzstein, Kenneth Burke, Jack Conroy, Aaron Copland, Adolph Dehn, Angna Enters, Kenneth Fearing, Hallie Flanagan, Mordecai Gorelik, William Gropper, Albert Halper, Josephine Herbst, Granville Hicks, Maurice Hindus, Langston Hughes, Rolfe Humphries, and Joe Jones.

Also, Otto Klineberg, Owen Lattimore, Douglas S. Moore, Carey McWilliams, Lewis Mumford, Alexander North, Nathaniel Pfeffer, Bernard Reiss, Earl Robinson, Isidor Schneider, Harry Slockover, Maxwell S. Stewart, Tom Tippet, Genevieve Taggard, Charles R. Walker, Edmund Wilson, Richard Wright, and William E. Zeuch.

Some of the communists, Granville Hicks and Richard Wright, for example, have become disillusioned with communism and have left the party. That, however, does not make the foundation any the less culpable. The grants were made when the men were active communists.

The Guggenheim boys apparently haven't learned their lesson. Among those awarded fellowships this year is Professor Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale University Law School. Emerson is the former president of the National Lawyers' Guild, which the House Committee on Un-American Activities found was a legal bastion for the communist party. The professor has been accused by the Committee of having "an affinity" for communist-front organizations.

The Julius Rosenwald Fund liqui-

dated its 35 million dollars in assets after the war but the memory lingers on. Established by Julius Rosenwald, the Chicago mail order king, "for the well-being of mankind," the trust was exploited by the same type of left-wingers that sapped the Guggenheim fund. A few in this category named by Congressman Cox were the following:

Langston Hughes, W. E. B. Du Bois, Claude McKay, Clark Foreman, James Dombrowski, Ira De Reid, Lillian Smith, Shirley Graham, Pearl Primus, Horace Cayton, and John P. Davis.

The Rosenwald account was also drawn upon by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was identified as a communist front by the United States government.

A tremendous flood of foundation money has gone into the coffers of the leading universities and colleges. While much of it is for laudable purposes, one curious use of such funds, according to the *Congressional Record*, involved Professor Ernest J. Simmons, head of the Slavic Department at Columbia University.

Simmons obtained a post-war grant from Czechoslovakia to finance studies at Columbia and then decided to go after one from red Poland. He obtained a Soviet visa. His expenses were paid by the Rockefeller Foundation through the American Council of Learned Societies.

Just before he sailed, Prof. Simmons rejected an offer of \$1,200 from an American businessman in Georgia who wished to help an anti-Soviet Polish writer give a series of lectures at Columbia. Upon his return from Europe, Simmons' department received \$10,000 from the communist Polish government. This was followed by further grants in later years. Professor Arthur P. Cole-

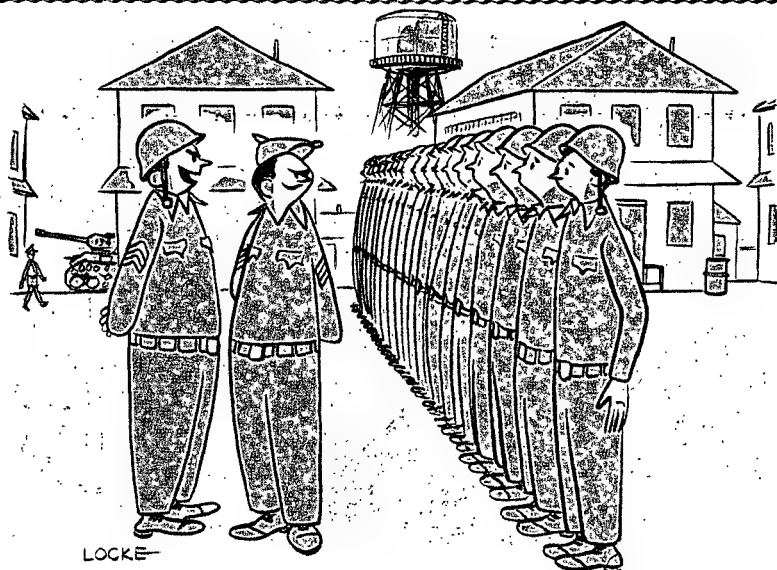
man resigned from Columbia University in protest.

Education has privileged status with the foundations, and any attack upon an institution of learning or an individual connected with it lights up the vested interest fires of "academic freedom." When the communist-front links of faculty members at Sarah Lawrence College, the Yonkers school for young ladies, were revealed recently, two foundations reacted with \$45,000 in gifts. It may be significant that the donors were kept anonymous.

The big foundations have also bestowed their financial blessing upon Professor Harold O. Rugg of Teachers College, Columbia University. Rugg in his foundation-financed *Frontier Thinkers* series of "social science" books, advocated governmental ownership of all banks, heavy industries, insurance companies, and natural resources. During 1949, the Carnegie Corporation allotted \$450,000 to Dr. Rugg's department at Columbia. The professor boasted that more than 5,000,000 school children had studied his works before they were "well nigh destroyed by the patrioteers and the native fascist press."

It has been said in defense of the foundations that many of the directors, important cogs in American industry and affairs, are too busy to examine trusts nominally in their care. Whether this is so or whether some of these people or their hirelings are sympathetic to the questionable people and causes benefitting from foundation money is something that deserves the attention of the investigating Congressmen.

Let us take, for example, the Marshall Field Foundation, a \$10,000,000 proposition, with two directors having long records of affiliations with organizations deemed subversive by the House Com-



"Ever notice how the married ones take orders better?"

AMERICAN LEGION MAGAZINE

mittee on Un-American Activities. One of these is Justine Wise Polier, a Justice of the Domestic Relations Court in New York City, and the other is Dr. Channing Heggie Tobias, an ordained minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund for Negro education and improved race relations.

A prominent personality in the Ford Foundation, which has an annual income of approximately \$25,000,000, is Robert M. Hutchins, an associate director under Paul G. Hoffman, the president. Hutchins is former chancellor of the University of Chicago. He is recalled at the midway institution for his quixotic education theories and leftward slant. When Hutchins was asked during a hearing of an Illinois State Legislature Committee, "Is there any doubt that the Communist Party is a conspiratorial fifth column operating in the interest of a foreign state?" he replied under oath, "I am not instructed on this subject. I understand many Communists say they do not operate under instructions of a foreign state." Imagine a man that uninformed disbursing millions of dollars of American capital!

Many strange foundation activities are carried on in the name of sweet charity. Perhaps the oddest was that of the China International Foundation, which operated surplus tankers and carried oil to red China. It will be recalled that the lawyer in this deal was Newbold Morris, who served a few weeks as a corruption-buster in Washington and was then dismissed by former Attorney General J. Howard McGrath.

Also in the name of charity, the Robert Marshall Foundation has aided communists and red-front organizations

for many years. This trust, for example, financed the defense of William Remington, former Commerce Department economist who was charged with perjury for denying he had ever been a communist.

Besides advancing money for the defense of communists or suspected communists in the courts, the Marshall trust appropriated \$100,000 to a group of organizations cited as subversive by the Department of Justice. These included the American Youth Congress, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the National Negro Congress, and the Southern Negro Youth Congress. This foundation was established by the late Robert Marshall, a left-winger and chief of the Division of Recreation in the Forestry Service. His estate of \$1,534,070 was left to him by his father, Louis Marshall, a member of the law firm of Guggenheim, Untermyer & Marshall.

These are only a few of the known incidents of foundation infiltration by left-wingers, a mere scratching of the surface which should be dug more deeply by the Congressional investigators. This is not meant to imply that all is rotten in the foundations. The big foundations have done a great deal of good in this world despite the rotten apples in the barrel.

John D. Rockefeller, the oil magnate, once said perhaps more prophetically than he knew that "it is easy to do harm in giving money." He gave away a half billion dollars in philanthropies during his lifetime. At the outset, the Rockefeller Foundation, which has current assets of some 160 million dollars, gave generously for the eradication of hookworm, yellow fever, and malaria. The Red Cross obtained considerable sums

of Rockefeller money during World War I. Major activities have been in the fields of mental hygiene, biology, anthropoid research, and nursing education as well as fellowships in physics, chemistry, and mathematics.

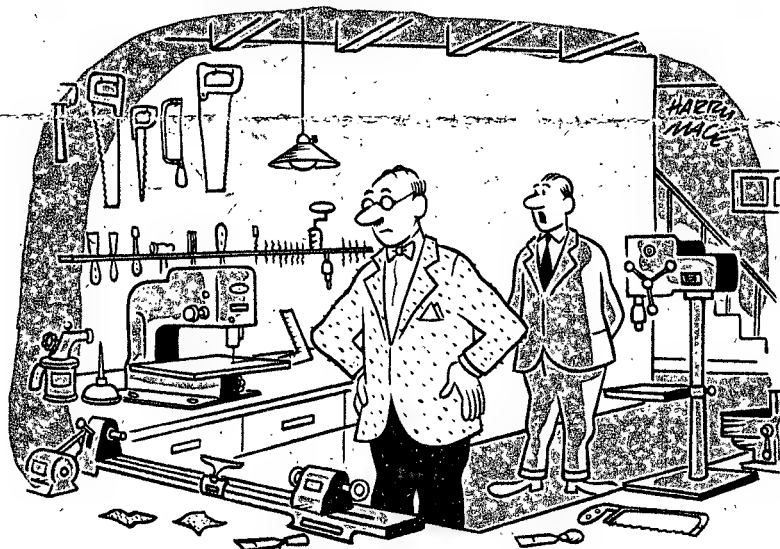
Andrew Carnegie, the canny steel-master born in Scotland, established the Carnegie Corporation in 1911 "to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States, Canada, and the British colonies by aiding technical schools, institutions of higher learning, libraries, scientific research, hero funds, useful publications, and by such other agencies and means as shall from time to time be found appropriate therefor." How far the Carnegie Corporation and the other trusts founded in his name have strayed from the original lofty aims is a measurement for Congress to take. Current assets in the Carnegie Corporation alone are in the neighborhood of \$175,000,000.

Some of the large but lesser-known foundations have stuck to the aims of the donors. Trustees and administrators alike have worked hard to bring into being and maintain hospitals, sanitariums, colleges, rural schools, research laboratories for studies into cancer and tuberculosis causes and possible cures, studies for the curbing of epidemics and plagues, and to build museums and art galleries.

Among the latter group are: Charles Hayden Foundation, A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Buhl Foundation, Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation, Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Foundation (not to be confused with the aforementioned John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation), John and Mary Markle Foundation, Kresge Foundation, Duke Endowment, and W. K. Kellogg Foundation.

It is the immense amount of good which many of the foundations have done for mankind that obscures the growing evil from Kremlin agents and their satellites. Only a full-scale investigation can bring the rottenness to light. It is not within the scope of this article to say how all this happened. That is up to Congress. This country, as strong and powerful as it is, cannot afford to have individuals like Alger Hiss waxing powerful on great sums of money provided by the very system they are trying to tear down.

Herein lies a tragically incongruous situation. Parents of some GI's in Korea have great difficulty scraping together enough cash to pay their income taxes with which to fight communism abroad. At the same time a foundation is allowed with impunity to parcel out tax-free funds by the millions to sources bent on spreading the doctrines of the Kremlin in this country. THE END



"Haven't used them in months — can't afford to buy any wood."

AMERICAN LEGION MAGAZINE

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*Use of Benevolent Trust
 Philanthropies and Eleemosynary
 Institutions To Implement the Program
 of Subversive Groups*

**THESE DAYS:
 Foundations Help
 Reds and Traitors**

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

A Congressional committee, headed by Representative Eugene Cox of Georgia, is now engaged in an investigation of the Foundations, a vast reservoir of dead men's money and a terrifying power in this country. It needs to be noted that many Foundations are organized by men still alive and by corporations as a device to do good instead of paying taxes. There are about 10,000 Foundations, large and small, and their funds run to more than \$3,000,000,000.

The startling fact about some of the Foundations, particularly the larger ones, is that while they were founded by such capitalists as John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Julius Rosenwald and latterly Henry Ford, in time the help hired to run them have grown powerful and wilful and expend the money on causes which would have offended the benefactors were they alive to see it.

Henry Ford, for instance, made nearly all his money in this country, but Paul Hoffman, who is spending that money, seems to prefer to pour it into remote bottomless pits and to expend it for meaningless purposes, such as an investigation as to why the world is full of refugees, when, as a matter of fact, it always has been. That is how you and I and Paul Hoffman probably came to be born in this country.

Congressman Cox presided over the ill-fated investigation of the FCC with unusual ability. When he brought the investigation right into the White House, steps were taken by President Roosevelt to suppress it, and the President succeeded.

*Boeinggardner
 B. B. Hanigan
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*100-385355-A = File: Use of Benevolent Trusts,
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McCarran Reports Can Help

In the matter of the Foundations, Cox will be able to begin with at least two proved facts, namely, Alger Hiss's presidency of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the relations of the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations to the Institute of Pacific Relations. With regard to the former, Cox can begin where the courts ended; with regard to the latter, he has the McCarran Committee reports to guide him.

William Fulton, who made a study of the Foundations for the "American Legion Magazine," makes this very interesting point:

"How do the Stalinites and their stooges dip their buckets into the Foundation pool?"

"They do it by masking the contributions they receive as legitimate and charitable. Millions of dollars have been ladled out to Communists and Red-front organizations under such euphemisms as fellowships, scholarships, research, studies for such humanitarian causes as international peace, better human relations, and the like. Sometimes the ultimate beneficiary of such funds is hidden by cleverly relaying the money through two or even three intermediary Foundations."

Alger Hiss was not only president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; he was also trustee of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the World Peace Foundation. He was a director of the Institute of Pacific Relations, one of the beneficiaries of both Carnegie and Rockefeller money. Here is an interlocking directorate by which a traitor had control of an \$11,000,000 fund and access to several others.

Lattimore Received Funds

Owen Lattimore had a travel and research grant from the Social Science Research Council which received more than \$6,000,000 from the Carnegie, Rockefeller, Rosenwald, Russell Sage, and other Foundations.

It is possible to trace in the histories of some of the most notorious leftists in this country through the grants given them by the Foundations, as, for instance, Hanns Eisler, who was a known Communist before the Rockefeller Foundation aided him.

One of the most puzzling of all Foundations is the Guggenheim, set up by United States Senator Simon Guggenheim, a Republican and conservative. It is startling to note how many Communists and leftists have received grants from this particular Foundation, running between \$2,500 and \$3,000.

It would be unwise and not beneficial to abolish the Foundations. Many of them serve excellent purposes. What needs to be investigated is the relationship of the original design of the donor to the expenditures of his money by self-perpetuating boards of trustees, directed by the hired help.

Paul Hoffman has about \$25,000,000 a year of Henry Ford's money to spend. What actual control is exercised over that expenditure? Who has the final voice? Too much money is at stake to leave to the discretion of a few hired men. The public has an interest in the matter, too. They bought the flivvers which made it possible to establish this Foundation. They want to be sure that it serves America.

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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds
Philanthropies and Educational
Institutions To Implement The
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TRUSTEES 'LIKE SHEEP ASTRAY' IN HIRING HISS

Educator Testifies At Foundation Probe

BY JOHN FISHER

Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace were "like sheep who were led astray" when they picked Alger Hiss as president of the foundation prior to his conviction and imprisonment as a spy-perjurer, one of the trustees said yesterday.

Dr. Henry M. Wriston, president of Brown university, told the House committee investigating foundations that Hiss covered up his past so effectively that none of the organization's officers ever suspected him.

Wriston said he and other Carnegie trustees voted to hire Hiss but he didn't believe either President-elect Eisenhower, or John Foster Dulles, Eisenhower's choice for Secretary of State, both also Carnegie trustees, had attended the meeting at which Hiss was employed in the \$20,000-a-year job.

Leave of Absence

Hiss was given a leave of absence by the trustees after his indictment for perjury on the spy charges. He is now serving a 5-year prison sentence in the federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa.

Wriston admitted under questioning that it is "likely" Dulles, because of his State department connections, knew more about Hiss than any other trustee, since Hiss formerly was a key official in the department.



H. M. Wriston

The witness said Hiss took such pains to "disassociate himself from his past" and succeeded so well that he was never suspected by the trustees. He said the program Hiss outlined to the trustees "had no relationship to anything subversive."

Chairman Cox (D.) of Georgia, of the special committee, brought up the Hiss matter, asking Wriston how Hiss happened to get the Carnegie endowment job.

Assured About Students

Wriston then said he and other trustees had voted to hire him.

"I fully associate myself with that, without associating myself with his ideas in any way," Wriston said.

The committee is delving into charges that some wealthy tax-exempt foundations have been financing Communist activities.

Wriston told Cox he does not feel "any great alarm" over radicalism in the nation's colleges and universities. He said that actually college students are most conservative.

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Use of Benevolent Trusts, etc.

Use of Benevolent Trust Funds, Philanthropies and Elphomasyary Institutions

Ex-Foundation Aide Linked to Red Front

By the Associated Press

The operating head of the Russell Sage Foundation acknowledged Wednesday that the philanthropic organization gave employment for 37 years to a woman who in recent years has been cited frequently by the House Un-American Activities Committee as a member of Communist front groups.

Donald Young, general director of the foundation, identified the employe as Mary Van Kleeck in testimony before a special House committee. The committee is investigating to see whether any tax-exempt foundations are using their funds to promote subversive or communistic programs.

Mr. Young told the committee he has been informed that the woman belonged to some 60 pro-Communist groups cited in some form or another by the Un-American Activities Committee or the McCarran Committee in the Senate, or listed by the Attorney General as subversive.

He said he became connected with the foundation only two months before she retired on an annuity in 1948. By that time, he said, the matter was "a closed issue." She had gone on the payroll in 1911 at \$1,500 a year and was getting a salary of \$8,808 when she retired.

The Russell Sage fund was founded in 1907 with the announced aim of improving social and living conditions in the United States. Its assets are about \$16 million.

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ADD 2 FOUNDATIONS (230P)

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER III, 46, NEW YORK CITY, BOARD CHAIRMAN OF THE FOUNDATION, TESTIFIED THAT IT HAS HEWED TO THE PURPOSES FOR WHICH HIS GRANDFATHER FOUNDED IT 40 YEARS AGO.

"MY GRANDFATHER SAID THE BEST PHILANTHROPY INVOLVES A SEARCH FOR THE CAUSE" IN ORDER TO "CURE EVIL," HE SAID.

HE ADDED THAT HIS GRANDFATHER HAD NOT WANTED THE FOUNDATION TO CONTINUE "IN PERPETUITY" BECAUSE HE FELT "EACH GENERATION SHOULD PROVIDE FOR ITS OWN NEEDS." HE SAID THE OLDER ROCKEFELLER BELIEVED THE FOUNDATION "SHOULD EXPEND (ALL) ITS FUNDS WHEN THE OPPORTUNITY ARISES."

THE COMMITTEE ALSO HEARD BRIEFLY FROM CHESTER I. BONNER, NEW YORK CITY, FORMER TRUSTEE AND EX-PRESIDENT OF THE FOUNDATION, WHO SUPPORTED THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY RUSK.

HE SAID, HOWEVER, HE KNEW OF SOME FOUNDATIONS WHICH WERE "RACKETS" FOUNDED TO AVOID TAXES AND PUT RELATIVES ON TAX-EXEMPT PAYROLLS AND THAT HE HAD "HOPED THIS COMMITTEE WOULD GET INTO THOSE."

REP. RICHARD M. SIMPSON (R-PA.), ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE, DECLARED AT THE CONCLUSION OF RUSK'S TESTIMONY HE WAS "PERSUADED" THAT "IF THERE WAS ANYTHING WRONG" IN ANY GRANTS MADE BY THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION IT WAS BECAUSE OF "ERROR OR LACK OF INFORMATION."

SIMPSON MADE THIS REMARK AFTER RUSK IN CLOSING HIS TESTIMONY NOTED THAT OF THE 28,753 GRANTS MADE BY THE FOUNDATION THERE WERE ONLY TWO ORGANIZATIONS AND 23 INDIVIDUALS ABOUT WHICH THE COMMITTEE MIGHT POSSIBLY RAISE QUESTIONS. HE TERMED THAT A PRETTY GOOD "BATTING AVERAGE."

COMMITTEE COUNSEL HAROLD M. KEELE ASKED WHAT RUSK SUPPOSED LAY BEHIND THE "FEAR" WHICH CAUSED CONGRESS TO INVESTIGATE FOUNDATIONS TO SEE IF THEY HAVE BEEN SUPPORTING SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES.

RUSK REPLIED "THE UNDERLYING CAUSE" WAS "FRUSTRATION, FEAR AND SUSPICION" CREATED BY THE "WORLD TENSION" AND ADDED THAT AMERICANS FOR THE FIRST TIME ARE IN A SITUATION WHERE "IT IS HARD TO FIND CLEAR ANSWERS TO THE PROBLEMS WE HAVE."

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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds
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FIELD SURPRISED BY RED FRONTS USING HIS NAME

Says Foundation Gave
Cash Unwittingly

BY JOHN FISHER

Marshall Field yesterday expressed surprise to congressional investigators that he had been listed as sponsor of two organizations cited as Communist fronts.

He also defended two directors of the Field Foundation, of which he is president, against congressional charges they have been connected with numerous subversive organizations, as well as grants made by his foundation to Communist front organizations. Field, grandson of the Chicago merchant and president of Field Enterprises, Inc., publishers of the Chicago Sun-Times, appeared before the special House committee, headed by Rep. Cox of Georgia, investigating tax-exempt educational and philanthropic organizations as to whether they have been financing subversive activities.

The multi-millionaire founded the Chicago Sun, which later merged with the Chicago Times, and also founded PM, the New York leftwing daily, now defunct.

Name on Letterheads

Harold M. Keele, committee counsel, brought out that Field himself has been listed as a sponsor on the letterheads of two organizations since named as Communist fronts by the House committee on un-American activities.

They were a letterhead of the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief of Aug. 6, 1945; and another letterhead of Sept. 17, 1951, of the Chicago council of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Keele asked Field about these organizations and the circumstances of his sponsorship.

Field said the Chicago outfit used his name without his permission and when it was called to his attention "I wrote them a letter telling them to take my name off."

As for the American committee for Yugoslav relief, Field said:

"I was told by reliable sources that it was a bona fide relief organization. At that time it sounded to me like a perfectly all right purpose. Two or three ladies I knew in New York were active in it."

The foundation directors defended by Field were Dr. Channing Tobias, a Negro, identified by Keele as having belonged to 48 Communist front organizations, as cited by congressional investigating committees and the attorney general, and Judge Justice Wise Polier of the New York City court of domestic relations.

Keele said the woman judge has been connected with the National Lawyers guild, the National Political association, and various other groups cited as Communist fronts.

Field said that he has "great respect for Dr. Tobias and considers him an outstanding leader of his race."

"I think he resigned from all those things sometime ago when he discovered they had been taken over and got on the attorney general's list," Field said.

As for Judge Polier, Field said she's one of the nation's "greatest experts on children's courts" and "I never found any Communist tendencies in her."

Pleads Lack of Facts

Keele developed testimony that the Field Foundation since '94' has contributed \$12,750 to organizations accused of communistic or subversive activities. They included grants of \$2,500 in 1941 to The Open Road, Inc., which operated student field trips to Europe; \$1,500 in 1942 and 1944 to the Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, Inc., Evansville, Ind.; \$1,250 in 1943 to the Institute of Pacific Relations, accused by the McCarran Senate internal security subcommittee of being used by Communists and fellow travelers to influence government policy on China and Asia; and grants totaling \$7,500 in 1942 and 1945 to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Field said that the foundation had considered all these organizations as engaged in worthwhile projects in line with the foundation's policy of concentrating upon the social sciences. He said the foundation was not aware that these organizations were considered subversive when the grants were made.

Field said that his foundation has assets of between 11 and 12 million dollars, with an income of \$600,000 to \$700,000 a year. He said members of his family are on the board but do not control it.

The committee also heard testimony from Michael W. Straight, editor of the leftwing magazine New Republic and president of the William C. Whitney Foundation, on \$19,000 in grants given to organizations cited as subversive or Communist fronts.

Straight contended that none of these organizations was known to be a Communist front at the time grants were given and said they were cut off when so listed.

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Cox Committee

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PAUL G. HOFFMAN (111P)
 FORMER ECA ADMINISTRATOR AND PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF THE FORD FOUNDATION, DEFENDED THE ROLE OF FOUNDATIONS AND DISMISSED COMPLAINTS THAT THEY ENCOURAGE "SOCIALISM."
 ADMITTING THAT THEY HAVE MADE "SOME MISTAKES," HOFFMAN SAID THAT IF ONE LOOKS AT THE WHOLE PERFORMANCE IT'S "A PRETTY GOOD PICTURE, DESPITE SOME OCCASIONAL FLY SPECKS."
 SPEAKING FOR HIS RELATIVELY NEW FOUNDATION, HE HOPED IT CAN "LIVE UP TO THE FINE TRADITIONS IN THIS FIELD."
 HE REPLIED WITH A TERSE "NO SIR" WHEN COX ASKED IF OWEN LATTIMORE, FAR EAST EXPERT AND A CHIEF TARGET OF SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY (R-WIS.), HAS "GOT HIS HANDS IN THE POCKET OF YOUR ORGANIZATION."
 HOFFMAN SAID THE FORD TRUSTEES HAVE APPROPRIATED \$72,000,000 FOR VARIOUS PROGRAMS HERE AND ABROAD DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS. MOST OF THE WORK IS AIMED AT BETTERING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, IMPROVING DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES AND MAINTAINING PEACE IN THE WORLD.
 HOFFMAN SAID THE COUNTRY WOULD BE "BETTER OFF" IF IT HAD MANY TIMES THE PRESENT NUMBER OF FOUNDATIONS. ALL OF THEM, HE SAID, SHOULD BE OPERATED IN A "GOLD FISH BOWL" LIKE FORD AND OTHER LARGE FOUNDATIONS. THIS WOULD PROVIDE ALL THE "POLICING NECESSARY" AND "TEND TO CORRECT ANY ABUSE THAT MAY DEVELOP."

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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds
 Philanthropies and Eleemosynary
 Institutions To Implement
 Programs of Subversive groups

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ADD 3 FOUNDATION

REP. RICHARD M. SIMPSON (R-PA.) ASKED IF HUTCHINS WOULD APPROVE A GRANT OF FOUNDATIONS FUNDS TO AN ORGANIZATION LISTED AS "SUBVERSIVE."

"I DON'T THINK THAT'S POSSIBLE, SIR," HUTCHINS REPLIED.

"HOW ABOUT AN INDIVIDUAL WHO IS A MEMBER?" SIMPSON PRESSED.

HUTCHINS SAID HE WOULD NOT APPROVE A GRANT UNLESS AN INVESTIGATION SHOWED THE INDIVIDUAL TO BE "COMPLETELY LOYAL."

SIMPSON WANTED TO KNOW HOW AN INDIVIDUAL COULD BELONG TO A COMMUNIST-FRONT GROUP AND STILL BE LOYAL.

"IT'S UNLIKELY, BUT POSSIBLE," HUTCHINS REPLIED. "THERE IS NO RELATION BETWEEN POLITICAL SAGACITY AND SCIENTIFIC EMINENCE."

HE SAID THE "PRESUMPTION OF GUILT WOULD CERTAINLY BE STRONG" IF ANYONE REFUSED TO ANSWER A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THEY HAVE BEEN OR ARE A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

COMMITTEE AIDES SAID OFFICIALS OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE WILL BE HEARD WHEN THE COMMITTEE RECONVENES NEXT TUESDAY. ALGER HISS, WHO WAS CONVICTED OF PERJURY FOR DENYING HE GAVE GOVERNMENT SECRETS TO RUSSIAN AGENTS, IS A FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE ORGANIZATION.

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File: Use of Benevolent
 Trusts etc

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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Mr. Tolson ☒
 Mr. Ladd ☒
 Mr. Nichols ☒
 Mr. Belmont ☒
 Mr. Clegg ☐
 Mr. Glavin ☐
 Mr. Harbo ☐
 Mr. Rosen ☐
 Mr. Tracy ☐
 Mr. Laughlin ☐
 Mr. Mohr ☐
 Mr. Winterrowd ☐
 Tele. Room ☐
 Mr. Holloman ☐
 Miss Gandy ☐

*Burke
Bingard new*

(FOUNDATIONS) REP. E. F. COX (D-GA.) CHARGED THAT THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION HAS AIDED "SUBVERSIVES" IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO UNDERMINE THE GOVERNMENT. COX, CHAIRMAN OF A SELECT HOUSE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS, MADE THE STATEMENT QUESTIONING DR. ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, AN ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF THE \$500,000,000 FORD FOUNDATION. HUTCHINS, ONE-TIME CHANCELLOR AND PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, HAD TESTIFIED HE COULD NOT RECALL ONE INSTANCE WHERE A LEADING FOUNDATION HAS "SUPPORTED" SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES. COX SAID HUTCHINS APPARENTLY "CLOSED HIS EYES" TO GRANTS THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION MADE TO OWEN LATTIMORE, CHIEF TARGET OF SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY'S "COMMUNIST-IN-GOVERNMENT" CHARGE, AND HANNS EISLER, AN ALIEN AGAINST WHOM DEPORTATION PROCEEDINGS ONCE WERE STARTED. (A HANNS EISLER IS A BROTHER OF GERHART EISLER, FORMER TOP COMMUNIST IN THE U.S. WHO JUMPED BAIL AND FLED THE COUNTRY.) HUTCHINS REPLIED THAT HE COULD NOT SAY THAT SOME FOUNDATIONS, EVEN AFTER MOST CAREFUL INVESTIGATION, "WOULD NOT BE DECEIVED." "I CAN SAY WITH PERFECT CERTAINTY," HE ADDED, "THAT NO ONE OF THE MAJOR FOUNDATIONS EVER CONSCIOUSLY HAS DONE ANYTHING THAT WOULD WEAKEN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM..." COX SAID THAT LATTIMORE, WHOSE FAR EAST STUDY WAS SUPPORTED BY THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION AND THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, WAS "LABORING WITH THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT ALL OVER THE WORLD TO DELIVER THE WHOLE OF ASIA INTO COMMUNIST HANDS." AS FOR EISLER, HE SAID THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION GAVE HIM A \$25,000 GRANT AFTER DEPORTATION PROCEEDINGS WERE STARTED AND "SOME INFLUENCE, ARISING FROM SOMEWHERE," PREVENTED THE DEPORTATION UNTIL THE ENTIRE SUM HAD BEEN SPENT. HUTCHINS SAID "I CANNOT CONDONE GRANTS TO SUBVERSIVE INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANIZATIONS IF THE DONOR OR FOUNDATION HAD ANY REASON TO SUPPOSE THEY WERE SUBVERSIVE. NOR COULD I CONDONE THEM IF THEY WERE MADE THROUGH CARELESSNESS." HE SAID HE BELIEVED THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION AND THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS IN SUPPORTING LATTIMORE'S STUDY HAD "A PERFECTLY BONA FIDE, SINCERE INTEREST IN TRYING TO FIND OUT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE ABOUT THE PACIFIC COUNTRIES AND OUR RELATIONS WITH THEM."

11/25--JE136P

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Tolson ☒
 Mr. Ladd ☒
 Mr. Nichols ☒
 Mr. Belmont ☒
 Mr. Clegg ☐
 Mr. Glavin ☐
 Mr. Harbo ☐
 Mr. Rosen ☐
 Mr. Tracy ☐
 Mr. Laughlin ☐
 Mr. Mohr ☐
 Mr. Winterrowd ☐
 Tele. Room ☐
 Mr. Holloman ☐
 Miss Gandy ☐

Barry B. Gandy

ADD 1 FOUNDATION (136P)

COX POUNDED AWAY ON THE SUBVERSIVE THEME AFTER THE LUNCHEON RECESS.
 DESCRIBING THE WITNESS AS "A SOMEWHAT CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE SINCE YOUR
 EARLY TWENTIES, WHEN YOU BECAME KNOWN AS THE BOY WONDER OF THE EDUCATION
 WORLD, COX QUESTIONED HUTCHINS CLOSELY ABOUT HIS ATTITUDE ON
 COMMUNISM."

11/25--W0452P

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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ADD 2 FOUNDATIONS

HUTCHINS SAID HE IS CONVINCED THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONSTITUTES A "CLEAR DANGER" AND ASSURED COX THAT HE WILL NOT "SUPPORT" ANY OF ITS ACTIVITIES. AS AN OFFICER OF THE FORD FOUNDATION, HE ADDED, HE WOULD NOT MAKE GRANTS TO "ANY SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS OR SUBVERSIVE INDIVIDUALS."

COX RECALLED A "COMMUNIST STUDENT CLUB" AT CHICAGO UNIVERSITY WHEN HUTCHINS WAS CHANCELLOR AND DEMANDED TO KNOW IF HUTCHINS "ADVOCATED COMMUNISM ON THE CAMPUS."

THE WITNESS SAID THE CLUB WAS COMPOSED OF STUDENTS WHO WERE "ALLEGED TO BE ENGAGED IN THE STUDY OF MARXISM." THIS WAS "A PERFECTLY LEGAL ACTIVITY" AND HE SAW NO OBJECTION TO IT.

IN ANY EVENT, HE SAID, NO MORE THAN 11 OF THE UNIVERSITY'S 14,000 STUDENTS EVER BELONGED TO THE CLUB AT ONE TIME, AND IT SUBSEQUENTLY "DIED OF ITS OWN VOLITION."

COX THEN QUOTED AT LENGTH FROM TESTIMONY GIVEN AN ILLINOIS LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING "SEDITIONARY ACTIVITIES" IN STATE UNIVERSITIES IN 1949. HE WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN HUTCHINS' STATEMENT THAT HE SAW "NO REASON" TO BE ALARMED OVER THE FACT THAT 135 UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS ALLEGEDLY WERE COMMUNIST-FRONT MEMBERS.

M. "IS THAT STILL YOUR FEELING?" COX DEMANDED. HUTCHINS REPLIED THAT THE PROFESSORS JOINED THE GROUPS -- MANY TIMES AT THE REQUEST OF THE GOVERNMENT -- BEFORE THE ORGANIZATIONS WERE LISTED AS "SUBVERSIVE" BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. THE MERE FACT THEY BELONGED, HE ADDED, DID NOT MEAN THAT THEY, TOO, WERE SUBVERSIVE.

IN REPLY TO ANOTHER QUESTION BY COX, HUTCHINS SAID HE BELIEVES THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HAS "PERFORMED A USEFUL SERVICE" WHEN HE STARTED TO ELABORATE, COX BROKE IN: "THAT'S ENOUGH, DOCTOR. IF ANYONE CAN EMBARRASS YOU I WISH HE'D STEP FORWARD." HE ADDED QUICKLY THAT HE HAD NOT TRIED TO EMBARRASS HUTCHINS, BUT IF HE HAD HE WOULD NOT HAVE SUCCEEDED.

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Cox Committee

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Mr. Belmont	_____
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Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

B. F. [Signature]
Bumgardner

ROCKEFELLER CASH HELPED IPR, SAYS COX

[By International News Service]

Rep. Cox (D) of Georgia charged yesterday that the multi-million-dollar Rockefeller Foundation granted a large sum of money to Owen Lattimore and the Institute of Pacific Relations to aid projects which Cox described as subversive.

Cox accused the Rockefeller Foundation and other established organizations of financing programs "the purpose of which has been much to undermine our whole system of government."

He made the charge at a public hearing by the special House committee he heads which was set up to study the resources and activities of tax-exempt foundations and possible aid they may have given "to un-American causes."

Cox's comment followed testimony by Robert M. Hutchins, former president of the University of Chicago and an associate direc-

tor of the half-billion dollar Ford Foundation.

Hutchins, under questioning by Committee Counsel Harold M. Keele, said he knew of no foundations which "tended to aid" subversive causes but considered their activities to be in the "opposite direction."

Cox declared that Hutchins' statement "would indicate he has closed his eyes to much the old foundations have done."

The legislator said he particularly had in mind "what Mr. Rockefeller's outfit did for the Lattimore movement which was moving with the Communist movement all over the world to deliver China into the hands of the Communists."

He added: "Mr. Lattimore was able to get a great deal of money which was used for subversive purposes."

Lattimore and the I.P.R., with which he was connected, were subjects of an exhaustive investigation by the Senate internal security subcommittee earlier this year.

Hutchins said the Rockefeller Foundation aided the I.P.R. only thru a bona fide, sincere interest in trying to find out all that was possible about the Pacific countries and "our relations with them."

He added: "I couldn't say that

in the course of 40 years a foundation in pursuit of bona fide interests . . . after much careful investigation, would not in some cases have been deceived."

Cox, however, said he doubted

"accidents were responsible in each one of these cases," and cited what he called Rockefeller Foundation aid to Hans Eisler as another example.

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Times Herald P. 2

Date 11-26-52

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Don't Stifle Educators, Hutchins Asks

By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago, yesterday urged House investigators to recognize "the very delicate problem of balancing security and freedom" in their hunt for subversion in education.

"... The thing you must do to the uttermost possible limits," he said, "is to guarantee those men (educators) the freedom to think and to express themselves."

His statement was made in a sharp exchange before the Cox Committee investigating the possible spread of subversive influences by tax-exempt foundations. Dr. Hutchins is associate director for education in the 500-million-dollar Ford Foundation.

The hearing yesterday brought a marked switch from the friendly attitude of the previous seven days' sessions as Rep. E. Eugene Cox (D-Ga.) challenged Hutchins.

Cox declared that Hutchins' views show "he has closed his eyes" to activities "which have undermined our system of Government."

Cox's ire was aroused when
See COX, Page 7, Column 1

COX—From Page 1

Hutchins Makes Plea For Freedom to Think

Hutchins said, "I am perfectly positive that no major foundation has ever consciously gone into anything that would weaken the American system." Hutchins said he couldn't think of any occasion where that even "accidentally occurred."

Cox, who has been permitting Rep. Brooks Hays (D-Ark.) to preside at the hearings, leaped to attention. The Rockefeller Foundation, and others, he said, have made "a great number of grants" to "disloyal" persons.

When the Rockefeller fund gave money to the Institute of Pacific Relations, which Cox referred to as "Mr. (Owen) Lattimore's outfit," it involved "considerable money that was used for subversive purposes," said Cox.

The Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee has charged that Lattimore, a Johns Hopkins University professor, and other "pro-Communists," were able to infiltrate and maneuver the IPR. Lattimore has denied he is a Communist or pro-Communist.

Cox also said Hans Eisler, brother of Communist Gerhart

Eisler, got a \$25,000 Rockefeller grant.

Hutchins, who is not connected with the Rockefeller Foundation, said that agency had "a perfectly bona fide and sincere interest" in Pacific countries when it aided the IPR. He said, "I would say that exercising the very best judgment in the world a foundation over the course of 50 years might have found itself making a mistake."

Cox later shifted his attack to the University of Chicago, which in 1929 appointed Hutchins its president when he was 30 years old.

Referring to him as "the boy wonder of the educational world," Cox said he has found no evidence that Hutchins was "greatly disturbed, or maybe disturbed at all," when the Illinois Seditious Activities Commission investigated the university in 1949.

Cox said that probe showed 165 faculty members belonged to "Communist front organizations" on the Attorney General's "Subversive list." He later said there were 136 who belonged to 465 "front" groups. Cox then quoted a statement, however, that there were "sixty-odd" professors "affiliated with 135 Communist front organizations in 465 separate instances."

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*Use of Benevolent Trust
Funds Philanthropies and
Eleemosynary Institutions To
Implement the programs of
Subversive groups use of
Benevolent Trusts etc.*

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Hutchins countered ~~that the~~ figures were in "dispute," and the university never admitted "any such number." He said, "the Attorney General, in releasing this (subversive) list in 1947, said that guilt by association is not a principle of American jurisprudence."

Membership in such organizations "raises a question about people, and a perfectly legitimate question," said Hutchins; but "it does not in and of itself show that they were engaged in subversive activities and nobody ventured to charge that any member of the faculty was (so) engaged."

Cox then said, "Well, you did indulge the advocacy of communism on the campus, did you not?" He asked if the university hadn't chartered "a Communist club on the campus."

Hutchins replied that it was a group of students—he said they probably amounted to 11 out of 14,000 students—"engaged in the study of Marxism, and the study of Marxism is a perfectly legal activity in this country . . ."

As the hearing concluded, Cox told Hutchins that he hadn't been trying to embarrass him, but: "If there is anyone who can embarrass you with any sort of cross-examination, I'd like to see him come forward."

Foundations Have Come Long Way

0-19

By James E. Roper

About 1400 B.C., the pharaohs of Egypt started setting up charitable foundations. Last week, a special House committee investigated how far foundations have come.

It was a big gift horse that Congress suspiciously looked in the mouth.

America's tax-exempt foundations now are worth probably \$6 billion. Some have only a few hundred dollars; the Ford Foundation, the biggest, is worth \$500 million.

The investigating committee under Representative Cox of Georgia wanted to know how these trusts spend their money—and especially whether they help Communists.

Such a thought would shock the men who founded the three biggest trusts. All were capitalists, rugged.

John D. Rockefeller, sr., and his family poured oil profits into the Rockefeller Foundation. Andrew Carnegie made his millions in steel—and gave them to the Carnegie Corp. The Ford family pieced together the Ford Motor Co. and then gave nearly 90 per cent of the stock to the Ford Foundation.

These funds now operate as gigantic corporations. They own securities, collect dividends and give money to every field of human endeavor except, possibly pure politics.

All of these funds count themselves as pioneers, pressing at the outer borders of human knowledge, whether it be in the field of medicine, education, philosophy, Government, agriculture or anything else that troubles mankind. These funds, try to go where other financial angels fear to tread.

Ford

Ford is the freshest name in the field of big-time philanthropy. Henry Ford, apostle of the assembly line, started the foundation in 1936. It grew slowly, finally swinging into full operation only two years ago. Paul Hoffman, former head of the Mutual Security Administration, is president.

In two years, the Ford Foundation has given away \$55 million. Seventeen per cent of this has gone overseas for such projects as helping American-controlled Berlin University, or helping farmers in India and the Middle East. The Ford Foundation is dedicated to solving problems of world peace, American politics, economics and education and the mysteries of human behavior.

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, the genius of education, is an associate director, and wants the Government to keep hands off. His fund has not knowingly helped Reds, but if one should turn up, he has a multi-syllable

explanation: "There is no correlation between political sagacity and scientific eminence."

Rockefeller

Similar philosophy comes from the retired head of the Rockefeller Foundation, Charles I. Barnard. The Rockefellers founded the fund in 1913 and dedicated it to "the well-being of mankind throughout the world."

Mr. Barnard ran it for years, then turned his office over to Dean Rusk, former Assistant Secretary of State, with this admonition:

"It has not been the practice of the Rockefeller Foundation to inquire into the politics, religion, skin color or racial origin of applicants for its grants and fellowships. The only personal criteria are two: The applicant's technical competence and his integrity as a scholar."

The foundation owns stock valued at \$321 million. These bring dividends of about \$11.5 million annually. It goes out as fast as it comes in.

Only last year, the foundation appropriated money for medical experiments in India, Africa, Canada, Italy, Norway, Holland and the United States; agricultural experiments in South America, Europe and the United States; studies in the humanities in Japan, Moslem countries, England and the United States, and miscellaneous projects such as \$160,000 to

the National Research Council, Washington, for research in problems of sex, and \$9,000 to a London institute for studying West African peoples who speak the Fulah language.

In the last five years, the foundation has spent \$61 million in the United States and \$17 million overseas.

Carnegie

The third-largest fund is the Carnegie Corp., which has assets of \$177 million and an annual income of about \$6 million. It sponsored a study that led to reorganization of medical teaching in the United States; it started developing hybrid corn now worth \$3 billion annually to American farmers. And it sponsored some of the first work on atomic energy.

It finances more than a score of subsidiary foundations that operate mostly in the United States. One of the Carnegie foundations that tried overseas work got burned. It was the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Alger Hiss was the head of it when he was accused publicly of being a Communist courier. He denied it, but now is in prison for having lied under oath.

The Controversial IPR

Carnegie and Rockefeller contributed 48 per cent of the costs of the Institute for Pacific Relations, which Congressmen have accused of encouraging

communism in China. Hiss was an IPR trustee.

Foundation heads say they should not hound researchers they subsidize. They say this might restrict the scientific thinking of the men. Mr. Hoffman feels his Ford Foundation—and all other tax-exempt foundations—should be required to file in a central place a public accounting of their funds. But that's as far as he wants Government regulation to go.

Representative Cox and his fellow committeemen claim a Government interest in foundations because they are tax-exempt. The original contributions are deductible for income tax purposes as charitable gifts. The trusts themselves do not pay taxes.

Donors give to funds rather than pay gift or estate taxes on their great fortunes. Federal estate taxes range up to 77 per cent on the part of an estate over \$10 million. Such taxes would have forced members of the Ford family to yield control of the Ford Motor Co. if they had not set up the Ford Foundation.

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Congressmen concerned over foundations find that governments have worried about them since the days of ancient Egypt. The pharaohs set up foundations to care for their tombs in the pyramids. Foundations thrived in ancient Rome and Greece. They endowed a stadium at Athens, built aqueducts and baths.

Perpetual Funds

What to do about funds set up to last forever has troubled more recent governments. Dr. Ernest Hollis of the United States Office of Education told the Cox committee that courts have been slow to alter the charters of foundations that have outlined their purpose.

One fund in England, for instance, sponsored a lectureship on coal gas as the cause of malaria fever. Another was established to ransom Englishmen captured by Barbary pirates.

One American fund, Dr. Hollis said, grew to \$77 million while a group of orphans it was intended to help gradually diminished. A fund of \$50 million at one time served only 800 sailors—the only ones eligible for aid.

One fund became obsolete because it could help only girls who admitted they were prostitutes. Few would.

A fund was set up in St. Louis in 1850 to assist emigrants "passing through to settle in the West." Dr. Hollis said most of the \$1 million trust was spent on legal fees before courts allowed the remainder to go to modern travelers in distress. To avoid such difficulties, the big modern funds allow their trustees to spend almost as they please. That's what worries the Cox committee.



—AP Photo.
Dr. Robert M. Hutchins says, "There is no correlation between political sagacity and scientific eminence."

Use of Benevolent Trust Funds in
Philanthropies and Eleemosynary
Institutions To Implement The
Program of Subversive groups

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Ex-Foundation Aide Linked to Red Front

By the Associated Press

The operating head of the Russell Sage Foundation acknowledged yesterday that the philanthropic organization gave employment for 37 years to a woman who in recent years has been cited frequently by the House Un-American Activities Committee as a member of Communist front groups.

Donald Young, general director of the foundation, identified the employe as Mary Van Kleeck in testimony before a special House committee. The committee is investigating to see whether any tax-exempt foundations are using their funds to promote subversive or communistic programs.

Mr. Young told the committee he has been informed that the woman belonged to some 60 pro-Communist groups cited in some form or another by the Un-American Activities Committee or the McCarran Committee in the Senate, or listed by the Attorney General as subversive.

He said he became connected with the foundation only two months before she retired on an annuity in 1948. By that time, he said, the matter was "a closed issue." She had gone on the payroll in 1911 at \$1,500 a year and was getting a salary of \$8,808 when she retired.

The Russell Sage fund was founded in 1907 with the announced aim of improving social and living conditions in the United States. Its assets are about \$16 million.

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Date: DEC 4 1952

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53 DEC 17 1952

Foundations Deny Knowledge Of Supporting Subversives

Directors of two philanthropic foundations told House probers yesterday that to their knowledge their funds have never been used to support any "un-American" cause.

Donald Young, general director of the Russell Sage Foundation, told a committee headed by Rep. E. Eugene Cox (D-Ga.) that one former employee of his organization, however, had been criticized for joining many alleged Communist "front groups."

She was identified as Mary Van Kleeck, a researcher and writer on women's employment problems, who many years ago was also a consultant for several Government agencies.

Committee Counsel Harold M. Keele said that according to findings by House and Senate committees in recent years she was "connected with some 60 organizations which have been listed as subversive."

Young said she was employed by the Russell Sage Foundation from 1911 to 1948, but did not have a post concerned with that group's policy-making. He said Miss Van Kleeck retired in 1948, just after he joined the foundation.

The House Committee is seeking to determine if money from tax-exempt foundations has been used to encourage un-American activities.

Malcolm P. Aldrich, president of the Commonwealth Fund, testified that his group believes that none of its funds have gone to any grant recipients, or employees, who have been cited by any congressional committees.

The Commonwealth Fund, organized in 1918, has assets of about 97 million dollars and is active in the fields of public health and medical education and research. The Russell Sage Foundation, largely concerned with social improvement, was launched in 1907 and now has assets of about 16 million dollars.

On Tuesday, officials of the Carnegie Corp. of New York told the committee they believe that the investigation is being conducted in a fair manner and will not have any adverse effect on foundations.

Young said yesterday that he also approved of the manner in which the hearings are being held, but he said he believes it is bound to have some undesirable effect on small foundations. The large funds are, well able to stand up under criticism,

said Young. The smaller ones, or those in the process of formation, he said, "are very likely to be made a little more timid," because of the probe, and far more "sensitive" when it comes to the "bold" type of research which he said foundations must support to justify their existence.

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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds
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Institutions To Implement at The
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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds
 Philanthropies and Eleemosynary
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 programs of Subversive groups

Barth Gardner
 5-J.A. Luffman

(FOUNDATIONS)

A HOUSE INVESTIGATOR TODAY CRITICIZED THE WILLIAM C. WHITNEY FOUNDATION FOR MAKING SO MANY GRANTS TO ORGANIZATIONS LATER LABELED SUBVERSIVE.

MICHAEL W. STRAIGHT, FOUNDATION PRESIDENT, DREW THE CRITICISM DURING TESTIMONY BEFORE A SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS. STRAIGHT IS ALSO PRESIDENT OF THE NEW REPUBLIC MAGAZINE.

HAROLD KEELE, COMMITTEE COUNSEL, SAID THAT OUT OF 440 GRANTS MADE DURING THE LIFE OF THE FOUNDATION (1937-1951) A TOTAL OF 20, AMOUNTING TO \$19,000 WENT TO SIX GROUPS CITED AS SUBVERSIVE BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OR SOME STATE INVESTIGATIVE ORGANIZATION.

THESE WERE THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE, FRONTIER FILMS, LEAGUE FOR MUTUAL AID, COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE, THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS AND THE AMERICAN-RUSSIAN INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

UNDER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY KEELE, STRAIGHT READILY CONCEDED THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE WHITNEY FOUNDATION -- LABOR ORGANIZATION AND EDUCATION -- ARE CLOSEST TO THE "DANGER ZONE" OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY THAN ARE THE INTERESTS OF FOUNDATIONS IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE. BUT HE SAID THE "DANGER ZONE" IS ALSO "THE ZONE OF CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY."

HE SAID IN VIEW OF PRESENT KNOWLEDGE OF COMMUNIST INFILTRATION TACTICS, THE GRANTS CRITICIZED BY KEELE PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE MADE TODAY.

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Cox Committee

E. E. Cox

Bartholomew

(FOUNDATIONS)

A SEVEN-MAN HOUSE COMMITTEE WILL START AN INVESTIGATION TUESDAY TO DETERMINE WHETHER TAX-EXEMPT EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS HAVE EXERTED "UN-AMERICAN AND SUBVERSIVE" INFLUENCE ON PUBLIC OPINION.

THE COMMITTEE, SET UP SOLELY FOR THE INQUIRY, IS HEADED BY REP. E. E. COX (D-GA.). COX HAS BEEN CRITICAL FOR SEVERAL YEARS OF SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS THE GUGGENHEIM, ROCKEFELLER AND ROBERT MARSHALL FOUNDATIONS AND THE ROSENWALD FUND, CHARGING SOME OF THEIR GRANTS HAVE FINANCED ALLEGED COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES.

HE HAS SUGGESTED -- IN THE FACE OF STRONG OPPOSITION -- THAT LEGISLATION MAY BE NEEDED TO CORRECT SUCH "ABUSES" OF THE TAX-EXEMPT PRIVILEGE.

THE HOUSE VOTED LAST SUMMER TO SET UP THE COMMITTEE OVER PROTESTS FROM MANY MEMBERS, INCLUDING REP. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR. (D-N.Y.), A NEGRO, WHO PREDICTED IT WOULD BECOME A "WITCH-HUNTING COMMITTEE TO SPREAD HYSTERIA AND FEAR."

REMINDED OF POWELL'S CHARGE TODAY, COX TOLD A REPORTER HE WOULD HAVE NO COMMENT OF ANY KIND BEFORE MONDAY WHEN THE COMMITTEE WILL REVIEW RECOMMENDATIONS OF ITS STAFF AND ISSUE A PRE-HEARING "POLICY STATEMENT."

LAST MARCH, IN URGING THE HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE TO RECOMMEND THE INVESTIGATION, COX ESTIMATED TAX-FREE FOUNDATIONS SPEND \$100,000,000 A YEAR.

REPRESENTATIVES OF SOME OF THE NATION'S BIGGEST PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS WILL BE CALLED FOR QUESTIONING. THE HEARINGS WILL BE PUBLIC AND MAY LAST THREE TO FIVE WEEKS.

11/15--GE344P

*File: Use of Benevolent
 Trusts etc.
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67 DEC 5 1952

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

98 DEC 4 1952

Mr. Tolson ☒
 Mr. Ladd ☒
 Mr. Nichols ☒
 Mr. Belmont ☒
 Mr. Clegg ☐
 Mr. Glavin ☐
 Mr. Harbo ☐
 Mr. Rosen ☐
 Mr. Tracy ☐
 Mr. Laughlin ☐
 Mr. Mohr ☐
 Mr. Winterrowd ☐
 Tele. Room ☐
 Mr. Holloman ☐
 Miss Gandy ☐

Cox Committee

2/12/52

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(COX COMMITTEE)
 A NEW CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE JOINED TODAY IN THE SEARCH FOR "UN-AMERICAN AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES." THE COMMITTEE, HEADED BY REP. E. E. COX (D-GA.) WAS SET UP BY THE HOUSE LAST SUMMER TO FIND OUT WHETHER ANY FUNDS OF TAX-EXEMPT EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS HAVE BEEN USED TO FINANCE SUCH ACTIVITIES. COX CALLED THE GROUP TO MEET BEHIND CLOSED DOORS TODAY TO APPROVE PLANS FOR PUBLIC HEARINGS WHICH WILL START TOMORROW AND PROBABLY RUN FOR THREE OR FOUR WEEKS. HIS SPECIAL SEVEN-MAN COMMITTEE WAS CREATED OVER PROTESTS BY SOME HOUSE MEMBERS THAT IT WOULD INVADE THE PROVINCE OF THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE. OTHERS, INCLUDING REP. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR. (D-N.Y.), A NEGRO, PROTESTED THAT IT WOULD CONDUCT A "WITCH-HUNT." OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ARE REPS. DANIEL L. O'TOOLE (D-N.Y.), AIME J. FORAND (D-R.I.), BROOKS HAYS (D-ARK.), RICHARD M. SIMPSON (R-PA.), ANCIER L. GOODWIN (R-MASS.), AND B. CARROLL REECE (R-TENN.).
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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

X
Cox Committee

(FOUNDATIONS)

A SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE REPORTED THAT TAX-EXEMPT EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS ARE "COOPERATING FULLY" IN AN INVESTIGATION TO DETERMINE IF ANY OF THEM HAVE FINANCED "UN-AMERICAN OR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES."

COMMITTEE COUNSEL HAROLD M. KEELE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT PRESIDENT TRUMAN FAILED TO GIVE THE INVESTIGATORS ACCESS TO TAX REPORTS FILED BY THESE GROUPS WITH THE BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

THE SPECIAL SEVEN-MAN COMMITTEE, HEADED BY REP. E.E. COX, (D-GA.) OPENS FOUR WEEKS OF PUBLIC HEARINGS TOMORROW. KEELE SAID THAT TO DATE MORE THAN HALF OF SOME 600 FOUNDATIONS HAVE ANSWERED QUESTIONNAIRES SUBMITTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEE. NONE HAS REFUSED TO COOPERATE HE SAID.

COX TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE HE ASKED THE HOUSE TO AUTHORIZE THE SPECIAL INVESTIGATION LAST SUMMER BECAUSE "CONCERN" HAD BEEN EXPRESSED BY SOURCES HE REFUSED TO DISCLOSE "OVER THE ULTRA-LIBERAL BEHAVIOR OF SOME FOUNDATIONS."

HE ADDED THAT FOUNDATIONS ARE CREATIONS OF THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM AND THE COMMITTEE WANTS TO KNOW IF SOME OF THEM "HAVE SHOWN A TENDENCY TO BRING THIS SYSTEM INTO DISREPUTE."

HOWEVER, HE SAID, "I AM LESS INCLINED NOW TO POINT THE ACCUSING FINGER AT FOUNDATIONS THAN I MIGHT HAVE BEEN BEFORE."

THE COMMITTEE MADE PUBLIC A LIST OF SEVEN WITNESSES WHO WILL TESTIFY THIS WEEK ON THE HISTORY AND BACKGROUND AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE FOUNDATIONS.

THEY ARE DR. ERNEST HOLLIS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S OFFICE OF EDUCATION; DR. ERMESON ANDREWS, OF THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION; DR. VANNEVAR BUSH, FORMER DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT; DR. WILLIAM MYERS, CORNELL UNIVERSITY'S DEAN OF THE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE; JAMES SIMMONS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH, AND PRESIDENTS HENRY M. WRISTON OF BROWN UNIVERSITY AND FRED MIDDLEBRUSH OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

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Cox Committee

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ADD 1 FOUNDATIONS (130P)

FORAND'S CRITICISM OF TEXTRON CAME IN QUESTIONING DR. F. EMERSON ANDREWS, RESEARCH DIRECTOR OF THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION WHO HAS CONDUCTED A 12-YEAR STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL AND PHILANTHROPIC ORGANIZATIONS.

JAMES S. SIMMONS, DEAN OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY'S SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH, TOLD THE COMMITTEE THAT FOUNDATION FUNDS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED "RISK CAPITAL" TO BE SPENT IN MANY WAYS FOR THE PUBLIC BENEFIT.

CITING THE "GREAT ADVANTAGE" OF USING FOUNDATION MONEY FOR "EXPLORATORY ACTIVITIES," SIMMONS SAID IT ALREADY HAS "HELPED ENORMOUSLY TO STRENGTHEN GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS OF RESEARCH AND EDUCATION AND TO EXTEND THEIR APPLICATION TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD."

NORMAN A. SUGARMAN, ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF THE BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE, TESTIFIED THAT 32,000 CHARITABLE AND EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WERE ELIGIBLE FOR TAX-EXEMPT STATUS AS OF JUNE 30, 1950. IN THE TWO-YEAR PERIOD SINCE, HE SAID, 55 OF THE ORGANIZATIONS HAVE HAD THE PRIVILEGE REVOKED AND HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO INCOME TAXES.

SUGARMAN SAID NO GROUP CAN BE EXEMPTED IF IT IS INCLUDED ON THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S LIST OF "SUBVERSIVE" ORGANIZATIONS. HE SAID GROUPS ALSO ARE EXCLUDED IF THEIR FUNDS ARE USED TO PAY STOCKHOLDERS, TO FINANCE PROPAGANDA TO INFLUENCE LEGISLATION, OR TO CARRY ON ANY "TRADE OR BUSINESS ACTIVITY."

HE SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO CHECK HIS FILES TO DETERMINE WHEN AND WHY THE PRIVILEGES OF THE ROBERT MARSHALL FOUNDATION WERE REMOVED. THE COMMITTEE SAID THIS GROUP CLAIMS TO BE "OUTSIDE THE PURVIEW" OF THE INVESTIGATION SINCE IT NO LONGER HAS TAX-EXEMPT STATUS.

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ADD 1 FOUNDATIONS

DR. VANNEVAR BUSH, NOTED SCIENTIST AND HEAD OF THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON, DENIED THAT RESEARCH FOUNDATIONS ARE "SOCIALISTIC" AND SAID THEY ARE NEEDED MORE NOW THAN EVER BEFORE TO MAINTAIN AMERICA'S WORLD LEADERSHIP IN SCIENCE.

THE NOTED ATOMIC SCIENTIST, FORMER DIRECTOR OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT'S OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, TESTIFIED SUCH ORGANIZATIONS HAVE HELPED BULWARK THE NATION'S WHOLE ECONOMY THROUGH THEIR AID TO EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH WHICH HAS BROUGHT GREAT ADVANCES IN SUCH FIELDS AS MEDICINE, AGRICULTURE AND ARMAMENT PRODUCTION.

HE SAID THIS NATION NOW LEADS THE WORLD IN FUNDAMENTAL SCIENCE, AND THAT MUCH OF THE CREDIT IS DUE THE FOUNDATIONS.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY, HE WENT ON, HOW FAR RUSSIA HAS PROGRESSED, BUT HISTORY HAS SHOWN THAT "GREAT SCIENCE CAN NEVER PROSPER UNDER SUCH ARTIFICIAL REPRESSIONS AS DICTATION FROM THE KREMLIN."

"I AM GLAD THAT RUSSIA HAS SUCH A SYSTEM," BUSH SAID, "AND I HOPE IT WILL BE A GREAT IMPEDIMENT."

HE SAID RUSSIA'S PRODUCTION OF THE ATOM BOMB AND ITS DEVELOPMENT OF JET AIRCRAFT REFLECT THE "ENORMOUS EXPANSION" OF SOVIET RESEARCH FACILITIES. BUT HE ADDED THERE IS NO WAY TO JUDGE "THE CALIBRE OF THEIR WORK AND WHETHER THEY SIMILARLY CAN BREAK NEW GROUND."

GERMANY'S HIGH POSITION IN SCIENCE, HE SAID, ENDED WHEN HITLER TOOK OVER ITS UNIVERSITIES BEFORE WORLD WAR II. HE CALLED THIS "HITLER'S BIGGEST MISTAKE."

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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THE JUDGMENT TO SPEND HALF A BILLION

Henry Ford II, chairman of the board of the half-billion-dollar Ford foundation, a philanthropic organization dedicated to good works and global uplift, announces the election as trustee of Federal District Judge Charles E. Wyzanski jr., of Boston.

Expending half a billion dollars, or any part thereof, is an exercise calling for sound judgment, to say the least. Mr. Ford did not show any conspicuous appreciation of this fact in some of the previous appointments to the foundation. Paul Hoffman, the Marshall plan spender, was brought in to run the show for no better apparent reason than his demonstrated talent for shoveling out large sums of money. Robert M. Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago, wound up as a deputy.

Judge Wyzanski is hardly likely to prove a tower of strength in the assemblage. A Harvard law classmate of Alger Hiss, he was one of the first flock of New Dealers in the dim days just after Roosevelt's accession. As solicitor to the Labor department, he undoubtedly is entitled to some responsibility for the lopsided Wagner act, which Sen. Taft and former Rep. Hartley tried to put back into balance.

Judge Wyzanski appeared as a character witness for Hiss at both trials of this convicted perjurer and Soviet espionage agent. His testimony at the second trial, in which Hiss was convicted, was that the reputation

of Hiss for loyalty was "equal to that of anybody I have ever known."

Mr. Ford is not too fortunate in his selection of persons to manage the huge fund from the standpoint of sound judgment. Mr. Ford's family fortune, of course, is the product of an economic system conceived in liberty and free from the dictation of the state. We do not know that Judge Wyzanski lacks sympathy for that system, but certainly some of his friends had no sympathy for it. Hiss was an agent of an ideology implacably hostile to that of the United States. Many of the New Dealers who violently supported him had a somewhat different outlook, but were moving in the same direction as Hiss and the Communists in the New Deal underground.

Whitaker Chambers, the penitent ex-Communist who exposed Hiss, well described the temperamental affinity of these people and Hiss when he said, in commenting on the intervention of Justice Frankfurter of the Supreme court and Secretary of State Acheson in Hiss' behalf, "The simple fact is that when I took up my little sling and aimed at communism, I also hit something else. What I hit was the forces of that great Socialist revolution, which, in the name of liberalism, spasmodically, incompletely, somewhat formlessly, but always in the same direction, has been inching its ice cap over the nation for two decades."

It would be strange, indeed, if half a billion dollars representing the increment from the workings of a free American system should be put to work assisting the progress of that glacier.

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By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

Counsel Harold M. Keele brought out that the Whitney Foundation made 440 grants between 1937 and 1951. Of those grants, 20 went to six groups which have been criticized by congressional or State committees for having become Communist "fronts" or for having "harbored" Communists.

They were the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the League for Mutual Aid, Frontier Films, Commonwealth College of Arkansas, the American-Russian Institute, and the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Straight specifically defended the grants to IPR, and said he believes the IPR has been re-organized and is doing "useful and unique work."

Field said his foundation gave funds to four groups which later came under attack: IPR, The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, The Open Road and the People's Institute of Applied Religion. In 1945 Field himself was listed as a sponsor of the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, which he said he believed was then "a completely bona fide relief organization."

Questioning by Committee

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FOUNDATION INQUIRY

As expected, the great educational and philanthropic foundations that have brought honor to the name of America throughout the world have been giving a good account of themselves before the special House committee now investigating them. The inquiry, headed by Representative E. E. Cox of Georgia, is supposed to determine whether the tax-exempt foundations "are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities." There is something ludicrous about the idea of foundations bearing the names Ford, Rockefeller, Carnegie, or Guggenheim promoting revolution and subversion; but there is nothing ludicrous about the dangers to freedom of scholarship, research and thought that lie half-hidden between the lines of this kind of investigation.

Fortunately, the House inquiry seems thus far to have taken a much more moderate and much less flamboyant course than might have been expected, given the temperament of its chairman; and for that all of us have reason to be grateful. Perhaps even some members of Congress have learned a good deal more than they ever knew before about the operations of these great organizations that have done so much to promote human knowledge and understanding; and that is all to the good. And perhaps the complete failure to pin any meaningful label of "subversion" on the foundations will set at rest any doubts that sincere but ill-informed people might have had on this score.

It is true that foundation grants have been made to individuals or institutions labeled by one or another Congressional committee or by the Attorney General's famous list as "subversive" or, in a very few cases, such as that of Dr. Joliot-Curie or Dr. Oscar Lange, to persons who have become known as active Communists. But in all but a handful of the instances the grants were made long before the individual's or the organization's political leanings were evident. And what is more to the point, the mere fact that an individual has been "criticized or cited"—to use the Cox committee's words—by the Un-American Activities Committee of the House or by the McCarran committee in the Senate is in itself no proof that it was wrong of a foundation to give him a grant.

The Cox committee must now realize that none of these foundations is going to support a man or an organization that it believes to be "subversive," but when it comes to defining just what "subversive" is there may be wide differences of opinion. The term clearly must not be used as a cloak to attack viewpoints that are unorthodox, unpopular or disagreeable. On the other hand, as the Rockefeller Foundation says, objective scholarship is "inconsistent with attitudes predetermined by a totalitarian ideology or with conclusions which are reached to conform to a dictated pattern."

The foundations have no apology for their immeasurable services to America and to all humanity. They have made some mistakes and they readily admit that they have made some mistakes; but the mistakes are negligible compared to the good that has been done and that will continue to be done. We are confident that they will not permit loose, nonsensical yet vaguely threatening talk about their support of "un-American" activities to deter them from their most typically American activity—the advancement of human knowledge.

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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds Philanthropies
and Eleemosynary Institutions To Implement
The Programs of Subversive Groups

AID TO PRO-REDS BY GUGGENHEIM FUND DEFENDED

12-3-1
House Probers Hit Grant

to Yale Prof

BY WILLIAM MOORE

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, Dec. 11—"Political naivete" was advanced by the secretary of the 30 million dollar tax exempt Guggenheim Foundation today as a defense for some of the American scholars who receive grants from the foundation while helping the communist cause.

Henry Allen Moe, secretary and trustee of the Guggenheim fund, told a special house committee investigating subversive influences in the nation's great philanthropic organizations:

"There is a correlation between academic eminence and political naivete. I disapprove these chaps who use their scientific eminence to give views which, if they didn't have that eminence, wouldn't be listened to.

"A Free Country"

"This is a free country and every man has a right to make a damned fool of himself if he wants to."

Moe advanced the political naivete theory after being questioned about the foundation's grants to persons connected with communist front causes. He had been specifically questioned about a \$4,000 grant made in April to Prof. Thomas Irwin Emerson of Yale university after the house committee on un-American activities had reported that Emerson has been connected with communist front movements.

Moe's remarks recalled the explanation given the committee Tuesday by Dean Rusk, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, when questioned about help his foundation gave an educator linked with communist front organizations. Rusk said of the man:

"He is capable of being a little frivolous in fields outside his own work. We may have to leave a little tolerance for such cases.

Reads Front List

Spectators were reminded that the state department used to call the Communists agrarian reformers when they were seizing control of China.

Harold M. Keele, committee counsel, read the committee the list of the communist front movements in which the un-American activities committee said Emerson took part. Much of the information, Keele said, had been gained from the files of the Communist Daily Worker.

Moe said he had not known of the un-American activities committee's report on Emerson. Asked by Rep. Simpson [R., Pa.], acting committee chairman, if the grant would have been made had the foundation trustees known of Emerson's activities, Moe replied:

"If I had known of these mentions, I don't see how the decision would have been any different."

"As a trustee," Moe was asked, "would you have voted for the grant?"

"I think so," Moe replied.

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CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

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Insists Checks Made

"What if an applicant for a grant were an avowed Communist or communist sympathizer?" Moe was asked.

"We would not have any truck with him," Moe said.

He insisted that his foundation, which deals only in grants to individuals for educational purposes, thoroly investigates all those to whom it makes grants.

One of those to whom it has recently made a grant, he said, is Prof. John K. Fairbank of Harvard university, named as a Communist in testimony taken by the senate internal security subcommittee—an accusation that Fairbank has denied.

Tells of Hunches

Another recipient of a Guggenheim grant, Moe said, was Alvan

Bessie, one of the Hollywood group that called itself "the Hollywood 10," who has since been sentenced to jail for contempt because of his refusal to tell the un-American activities committee whether he was a Communist.

Moe said a foundation has to take chances and play hunches in giving money away, but said its grants to persons under criticism have been tiny in comparison to those that produced good results.

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'It's a Free Country'

Brilliant Men Have Right to Be 'Damn Fools' About Politics, Says Guggenheim Secretary

By Murrey Marder
 Post Reporter

Brilliant scientists and artists should be given as much right to make "damn fools" of themselves as anyone else, when it comes to politics, a House committee was told yesterday.

The advice was given in full seriousness by Henry Allen Moe, secretary for 25 years of the 30-million-dollar John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

Moe, who is 56, is a twinkling kind of professorial figure whose name is a byword in philanthropic work. He has helped shepherd to prominence some of the country's outstanding scientists and scholars, including three Nobel Prize winners.

Yesterday he urged the importance of drawing a line between "subversives" and political "nonconformists." Moe told the special committee investigating tax-exempt foundations for possible subversive activities, that:

"There is a correlation between academic eminence and political naivete."

Because of their academic prominence, said Moe, many

scientists, writers, artists and composers burst into print with statements on political subjects which they have not studied "one-tenth as critically" as the work in which they are eminent.

"These people live in a world that isn't the world of reality to you and me," said Moe. "The great writers and artists and composers, of all time have never been exactly cozy members of society."

But, said he with a shake of his cane: "It's a free country, and from my point of view every man has a right to make a damn fool of himself."

He readily agreed, under questioning by Committee Counsel Harold M. Keele, that his foundation made some grants which later turned out to be "mistakes." But to seek out men of rare ability, Moe said, the foundation must work with nonconformists: "If you pick the gilt-edged you get 2 percent; in the particular business I am in you take risks and you play for higher stakes."

Alvah Bessie, one of the "Hollywood Ten" jailed for contempt of Congress 12 years after receiving a Guggenheim grant,

"was the most egregious mistake of all," said Moe. The case of Poet Langston Hughes was also "a mistake," he said.

But he refused to agree that Composer Aaron Copland was a "mistake" because he allegedly associated with some groups which came under congressional attack as Communist "fronts."

And although the committee read a list of about 10 alleged "fronts" with which Prof. Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School reportedly was associated, Moe said only that it would have to be seriously weighed against all of Emerson's work. Emerson formerly was a legal official in many Government agencies.

"We are not gods," said Moe. "In this field you have to play your hunches."

"I think that in all fairness," said Counsel Keele as the hearing concluded, "it must be said that in the judgment of philanthropoids, you have done, and your organization has done, a most creditable job over the years. ("Philanthropoid" is a word coined to describe some one who gives away a philanthropist's money.)

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B. B. Gardner
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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds, Philanthropies and Eleemosynary Institutions To Implement The programs of Subversive Groups.

Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N.Y. Herald Tribune

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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds, Philanthropies and Eleemosynary Institutions To Implement The programs of Subversive Groups

SOME 'MISTAKES' ADMITTED BY FUND

But Guggenheim Aide Says Grants to Emerson, Fairbank Were Not Among Them

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11—Some "mistakes" in granting fellowships to individuals since cited for communistic activities were acknowledged today on behalf of the \$30,000,000 John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation of New York City. The spokesman was Henry Allen

Moe, secretary of the organization, who testified before a special House committee investigating tax-exempt foundations.

Mr. Moe insisted, however, that a 1952 grant to Thomas I. Emerson, a law professor at Yale University, was not one of the foundation's mistakes. Professor Emerson obtained a fellowship for studies of individual rights in modern democratic society.

Mr. Moe said the grant had been made without knowledge of the fact that the professor had been named by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a sponsor or supporter of organizations classified as Communist fronts.

'Not Determining,' He Says

Nevertheless, he declared, while the information would have "the most careful scrutiny," Professor

Emerson probably would have received the fellowship in any event. He said his own investigation at the time convinced him the professor was "a very able lawyer" and "a teacher who doesn't slant his material in any particular."

Listing by the House committee should be taken into consideration in making grants but are "not determining," he explained.

"It is not clear to me what conclusions the House committee itself would expect to be drawn from their citations," he said.

On the same ground, Mr. Moe defended a grant to John K. Fairbank, Professor of History at Harvard, for historical studies of Japan and China. Professor Fairbank has been accused by Louis Budenz, former Communist leader, of being

a Communist. He had denied the charge under oath.

Mr. Moe maintained that there was "no credible doubt whatever about his loyalty to the United States."

Cites Nobel Winners

He characterized as the foundation's "most egregious mistake of all" a grant to Alvah Bessie, one of ten film personalities late convicted of contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions before the Un-American Activities Committee.

Other "mistakes" included a grant to Langston Hughes, the poet, he testified.

As for known Communists, "we wouldn't have any truck with them at all," Dr. Moe declared, but "we are not God and we can't foresee the future." Foundations operating

"really on the frontiers of knowledge" must take chances to achieve results, he said.

He maintained that from the foundation's accomplishments, "minus our mistakes, the United States has gained incalculably." In this connection he pointed out that three Guggenheim fellows later won Nobel prizes. He named Dr. Arthur H. Compton of Washington College, St. Louis; Dr. Herman J. Muller of Indiana University, and Dr. James B. Sumner of Cornell University.

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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds, Philanthropies
and Eleemosynary Institutions To Implement
The programs of Subversive groups

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Laughlin
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Holloman
- Miss Gandy

U.S. Foundations Clear Selves of Subversive Aid

By Roland Sawyer
Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Private foundations, seeking a better world by supporting projects for education and enlightenment, are giving Congress a few lessons in both.
Spokesmen for at least six of the biggest philanthropic foundations have told Representative Eugene E. Cox (D) of Georgia that not only have the foundations not supported subversive activities but have contributed, and will continue to contribute, substantially to the basic strength of the nation.
There has been no fundamental disagreement with their testimony, which has been both humorous and forceful.
What the foundations mean by contributing to the nation's basic strength was clearly defined by Dr. Robert H. Hutchins of the Ford Foundation. The most effective way to combat communism, he testified, is "to maintain and develop . . . the western traditions of freedom—freedom of thought, freedom of discussion, and freedom of association."
In terms of the individual, what Dr. Hutchins was talking about was described somewhat dryly by Henry Allen Moe, secretary of the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.
Many natural scientists, writers, and artists who are aided by foundations in projects to shed light and understanding are also naive politically, Mr. Moe said. "There is a correlation between academic eminence and political naivete"—a world they have not studied one-tenth as critically as their own fields."

This is not the world of reality that congressmen know, Mr. Moe affirmed, shaking his cane as he talked. "The great writers and artists and composers of all time have never been exactly cozy members of society." But he said, these people have quite as much right to make "fools" of themselves politically as any others.
Mr. Moe conceded that the Guggenheim Foundation had made a few mistakes in some of its individual selections for fellowships, such as Alvah Bessie, one of the "Hollywood ten" jailed for contempt of Congress 12 years after receiving a Guggenheim grant. He thought the same was true for the case of Langston Hughes, the poet.
No Infallibility
For once, a congressional committee did not require that its witnesses be infallible, a rare event these days. Harold M. Keele, committee counsel, told Mr. Moe.
"I think in all fairness that, in the judgment of philanthropies, you have done, and your organization has done, a most creditable job over the years."
The pattern of testimony before Mr. Cox's special committee followed Mr. Moe's definition of the difficulty in making infallible grants, and Dr. Hutchins' statement of the purposes of the foundations, to keep alive the freedoms of thought, discussion, and association.
With these the committee so far has had no quarrel.
Even the Rockefeller Foundation, with its support of many years of the Institute of Pacific Relations, emerged from Mr. Cox's group with this blessing of committee counsel: "If there was anything wrong or unwise (in the Rockefeller grants) it was due to error or information largely unobtainable at the time."

No Subversive Aid

Thus the investigation into whether large philanthropic trusts have supported subversive activities intentionally, or to any serious extent, seems to have established that they have not done so.
Additionally, the investigation has enable the trusts to gain publicity for their work and to remind congressmen, fearful of too much freedom, that education can never proceed without the freedom of men to think and to speak out, something that is never permitted in the dictatorial state.
The testimony of the foundations is timely. Representative Harold H. Velde (R) of Illinois, new chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, has said he intends to investigate American colleges.
Hutchins' Definition
Before he begins, he has this definition of what freedom of education means to such a leader as Dr. Hutchins:
"A university, then, is a kind of continuing Socratic conversation on the highest level, for the very best people you can think of you can bring together, about the most important questions. And the thing that you must do to the uttermost possible limits is to guarantee those men the freedom to think and to express themselves."
In the same vein, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., speaking for the foundation bearing his name, testified to the principle toward which the foundations work: "The contributions of foundations to economic and social gains over the past years have been enormous," he said. "And, the foundations have a greater responsibility, in my view, in the future."

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File: Use of Benevolent Trust Funds, etc

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds
 Philanthropies and Eleemosynary
 Institutions to Implement The
 Programs of Subversive Groups

Deputy

COX "PHILANTHROPY" INVESTIGATION—A "WHITEWASH"?

JOSEPH E. JOHNSON, Alger Hiss' collaborator and successor as President of the Carnegie Endowment, who was permitted to resign from the State Department after a leak of top secret information to Russia and the enemy was traced to his division, and then rewarded with a Foundation position, was asked if the Endowment supports subversives. Under oath, he answered "No!"

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, III, personally participated in the activities of the Rockefeller-financed Institute of Pacific Relations—with its Hiss, Jessup, Lattimore, Field and the Amerasia crowd. Congress has on hand complete proof that Rockefeller's Foundation, through the IPR, supported the Communist, Richard Sorge spy ring that induced the Jap command to attack US at Pearl Harbor, instead of attacking Russia, as it had planned. This prepared the way for the death of hundreds of thousands of our GI's in World War II and Korea. John D., III, was asked if his Foundation supports subversives, HIS ANSWER, UNDER OATH, WAS "NO!" DEAN RUSK, President of Rockefeller's Foundation, also vowed "NO!"

Both Foundations have financed, still do, the conspiracy for REVOLUTION THRU "EDUCATION."

THE COMMITTEE & ITS COUNSEL HAVE NOT CHALLENGED THIS FALSE TESTIMONY! They allege that they have no time for testimony on the truth.

HOW FUNNY CAN AN "INVESTIGATION" GET?

HAROLD M. KEELE, Committee Counsel is making good on promise of "whitewash" made at New York luncheon. he tendered foundation heads, announced by N. Y. Herald Tribune, December 7, 1952.

Read the TRUTH in "ROCKEFELLER 'Internationalist,' the Man Who Misrules the World, By Emanuel M. Josephson (with note by Fred H. Johnson). Cloth bound, 448 pages. Illustrated. Price: \$4.00 at your bookseller, or

CHEDNEY PRESS, 127 E. 69 St., New York City

5 *Deputy*

*File: Use of Benevolent
 Trusts, etc.*

Time Herald P. 20

Date 12-17-52

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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds,
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(FOUNDATIONS)

TWO FORMER COMMUNISTS WHO SAID THEIR LIVES ARE IN DANGER BECAUSE THEY BROKE WITH THE PARTY TESTIFIED TODAY AMERICAN REDS HAVE FOUND CHARITABLE FOUNDATIONS A "VERY LUCRATIVE" SOURCE OF FUNDS TO FINANCE SUBVERSIVE WORK.

THEY SAID COMMUNISTS STARTED WORMING THEIR WAY INTO THE FOUNDATIONS -- AS WELL AS INTO LABOR UNIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS -- ON ORDERS FROM MOSCOW BEGINNING IN 1928.

THE WITNESSES WERE MANNING JOHNSON, NEGRO, A PARTY MEMBER FROM 1950 TO 1940, AND MAURICE MALKIN, A CHARTER MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY WHO WAS EXPELLED FROM THE ORGANIZATION IN 1937. THEY TESTIFIED BEFORE A HOUSE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING WHETHER TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS HAVE BEEN USED FOR SUBVERSIVE PURPOSES.

BOTH MEN NOW WORK FOR THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE OF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT IN NEW YORK CITY AS CONSULTANTS IN MATTERS RELATING TO COMMUNISM. BOTH HAVE TESTIFIED PREVIOUSLY BEFORE OTHER CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.

JOHNSON SAID A SPECIAL COMMUNIST PARTY COMMITTEE WAS SET UP IN THE 1930'S TO TAP ALL POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FUNDS -- "BLEEDING HEARTS, FOUNDATIONS, LABOR UNIONS, FELLOW TRAVELERS, AND OTHERS."

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*File. Use of Benevolent
Institutions*

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98 JAN 9 1953

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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12/22--W0532P

File: Use of Benevolent Trusts etc
Baumgardner
5- Sullivan

*Use of Benevolent Trust Funds, Philanthropies and
Fleemosynary Institutions To Implement the program
of Subversive groups*

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Washington City News Service

ADD 1 FOUNDATIONS

HE SAID THE PARTY FOUND FOUNDATIONS A "VERY LUCRATIVE" SOURCE OF INCOME "TO HELP IN THE TASK OF SUBVERTING AMERICA."

JOHNSON TESTIFIED HE HAS BEEN "PERSECUTED" SINCE HE BROKE WITH THE PARTY ON LEARNING THAT ITS PROMISES TO AMERICAN NEGROES WERE HOLLOW AND THAT NEGROES WERE BEING USED MERELY AS PAWNS IN THE SCHEME OF WORLD CONQUEST."

HE SAID ALL COMMUNISTS WHO BREAK WITH THE PARTY AND THEN GIVE EVIDENCE TO CONGRESS OR THE GOVERNMENT FACE CONSTANT DANGER.

"OUR MOVEMENTS ARE RESTRICTED. WE HAVE TO BE VERY CAREFUL WHERE WE GO, CAREFUL TO STAY OUT OF CROWDS. THE COMMUNISTS HAVE MANY STRONG MEN, SKILLED IN THE USE OF THE KNIFE, THE ACID ATOMIZER, THE BLACK-JACK."

"WE HAVE TO BE ESPECIALLY CAREFUL IN NEW YORK ABOUT USING THE SUBWAY, LEST WE BE PUSHED OFF THE PLATFORM IN FRONT OF A TRAIN. WE HAVE TO STAY OUT OF CROWDS LEST WE GET ACID THROWN IN OUR FACES OR KNIVES STUCK IN OUR BACKS."

BOTH WITNESSES GAVE AS THEIR ADDRESS 70 COLUMBUS AVE., NEW YORK CITY, THE ADDRESS OF THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE THERE. THEY TOLD A REPORTER AFTERWARDS THEY NEVER GIVE THEIR HOME ADDRESSES AS THIS WOULD TIP OFF PARTY MEMBERS AND SUBJECT THEM TO FURTHER HARASSMENT. BOTH SAID THEY HAVE BEEN THREATENED FROM TIME TO TIME. MALKIN SAID TWO ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO KILL HIM, ONCE BY STABBING AND ONCE BY GUNFIRE.

THE TWO EX-COMMUNISTS NAMED AS HAVING BEEN USED OR "INFILTRATED" BY THE COMMUNISTS AT VARIOUS TIMES ~~THE GARLAND FUND, THE SHEPES-STOKES FUND, THE ROBERT MARSHALL FUND, THE MARSHALL FIELD FUND, THE MECKSHER FOUNDATION, THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION, THE GUGGENHEIM FUND, THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION, THE ROSENBERG FOUNDATION, AND THE ROSENDALE FUND.~~

SOME OF THESE FUNDS NO LONGER EXIST. SOME ARE NOT TAX-EXEMPT. SPOKESMEN FOR SEVERAL OF THE BIGGER GROUPS, TESTIFYING BEFORE THE COMMITTEE EARLIER, HAVE CONCEDED THEY HAVE MADE A FEW MISTAKES BUT SAID THEY DO ALL THEY CAN TO SAFEGUARD THEMSELVES FROM SUBVERSIVE APPLICANTS FOR HELP.

MALKIN TOLD THE COMMITTEE AMERICAN COMMUNISTS TOG THEIR ORDERS IN 1928 FROM THE SIXTH WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE TO "PENETRATE ALL CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS AND GET AS MUCH FUNDS FROM THE AS POSSIBLE."

12/22--W0550P

ADD 2 FOUNDATIONS

THE OBJECT WAS TO TAKE SOME OF THE FINANCIAL LOAD OF AMERICAN SUBVERSIVE WORK OFF OF MOSCOW.

THE FOUNDATIONS WERE TAPPED EITHER BY GETTING GRANTS FOR INDIVIDUAL COMMUNISTS, WHO THEN USED THE MONEY TO WORK FOR THE PARTY, OR BY WINNING GRANTS FOR STUDIES BY WELL-INTENTIONED GROUPS WHICH THEN WERE SUBVERTED TO THE COMMUNIST CAUSE, HE SAID.

EFFORTS WERE MADE TO PUT COMMUNISTS ON THE STAFFS OF THE FOUNDATIONS OR EVEN, IN SOME CASES, ON THEIR BOARDS OF TRUSTEES OR AMONG THEIR DIRECTORS.

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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds,
Philanthropies and Eleemosynary
Institutions to Implement The
programs of subversive groups

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2 Tell of Red Policy To Use Foundations

By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

Two former Communist Party members yesterday testified that for many years it was Communist strategy to "infiltrate" tax-exempt foundations and "tap" their treasuries for Red-front causes.

The Communists did succeed in getting a number of their people into several foundations between 1920 and 1940, the witnesses told a special House committee investigating the possible subversive use of foundation money.

Their testimony gave no indication, however, to what extent, if any, Communists are active in present leading foundations.

Officials of major foundations have acknowledged that in the past a relatively very small portion of their funds have gone to persons and groups later alleged to be Communist or pro-Communist.

Line Set in 1920

Maurice Malkin, who said he was a charter member of the Communist Party in 1919 and remained in it until 1937, asserted that in the 1920s the "line was laid down" to penetrate the foundations and all other cultural organizations.

Manning Johnson, a member of the party from 1930 to 1940, said: "I do believe that the foundations have been infiltrated both on high and lower levels."

Malkin and Johnson were both on the National Committee of the Communist Party. They consulted to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for many years they have testified at congressional hearings and Federal proceedings.

Some of the foundations they criticized at length are either

no longer operating or have lost their tax exemption.

Malkin said the Communists "succeeded in placing a few Communists at the control board" of the Garland Fund. He said they included Earl Browder, William C. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow. Johnson said the Communists and Communist-front groups "were able to use substantially all of the two million dollars that constituted the Garland Fund."

A large part of that money, Johnson said, was used to finance the Daily Worker and other Communist publications. Other money for Communist purposes, said Malkin, came for a time from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, through the intercession of Mrs. Rose Stokes.

Malkin said Mrs. Stokes "was a charter member of the party" and that those funds ceased coming when she was divorced by her husband.

"Front" Groups Aided

The Robert Marshall Fund, said Malkin, gave considerable aid to Communist fronts. The fund has since been stricken from the tax-exempt list.

Malkin said the Marshall Field Foundation has given some financial support to "front" groups, and he said two of its trustees have been particularly active in Communist-front groups.

He identified them as Channing Tobias, prominent Negro leader, and Judge Justine Wise Polier of New York's Domestic Relations Court. Both have been mentioned in the hearings previously, and have categorically denied any pro-Communist sympathies. Tobias was investigated by a Senate subcommittee last year and approved as a delegate to the United Nations.

Without citing any specific details, the witnesses testified that

the Carnegie Foundation, the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Rosenwald Fund (which is now defunct) have at varying times also made some grants which found their way into pro-Communist channels.

Malkin said that Michael Straight, editor of New Republic magazine and head of a family fund, the Whitney Foundation, "has been used" by the Communists. Straight has denied aiding any groups known at the time to be pro-Communist.

Johnson and Malkin both said that Mary Van Kleeck, a former staff member of the Russell Sage Foundation, was known to them

as a Communist. Johnson said that Corliss Lamont, writer and son of a prominent New York financier, "was also spoken of in the higher circles of the Communist Party as a member of the Communist Party."

Baumgardner

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Benevolent

File in 2B Benevolent Trusts, etc.

Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N.Y. Herald Tribune

N.Y. Mirror

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98 JAN 9 1953

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RED PLOT AIDED BY RECOGNITION

Ex-Party Members Tell Of Infiltration

BY WILLIAM MOORE

House investigators were told yesterday that the big Communist drive to seize control of American government agencies, churches, educational facilities and the wealth of philanthropic institutions began two months after Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the Russian government.

The story came from Maurice Malkin, a charter member of the American Communist party who deserted the party and became a member of the federal immigration and naturalization service staff.

Malkin was followed to the witness stand by Manning Johnson, a Negro who also deserted the Communists to help the immigration service in New York keep Communists out.

Guards Again Assassins

Johnson, who said he must ever be on guard against Communist assassins who would stab him, spray acid on him with atomizers, or push him into the path of New York subway trains, said the nation's philanthropic foundations know those within their ranks who have betrayed the foundations into financing Communists. He called upon the foundations to expose the Communists and Communist sympathizers and clean house.

The witnesses, who were big-time Communist leaders for many years, testified before the special House committee investigating communistic influences in the tax-exempt foundations.

The foundations, both men testified, were early targets of the Communist leaders, who were under orders from Moscow to milk the foundations of their millions for the Communist cause—to victimize the do-gooders, as Johnson puts it, whom the Communists scornfully called "the bleeding hearts."

But Communist success was pictured as disappointing until Roosevelt gave his blessing to the Communists with diplomatic recognition in 1933.

Led By Browder

Once they had recognition, Malkin said, they went to work with a will under Earl Browder, then top American Communist. Within two months, the big Communists of the United States met and issued orders:

Communists were to get jobs in the government agencies. They were to plant themselves in the churches, the colleges and universities and the foundations. In the government was power, but in the foundations were the millions the

Communists needed to finance their propaganda.

The witnesses testified Communists and their people on the staffs of the foundations and even had success in infiltrating the board of trustees. The two ex-Communists added to the committee's list of Communists and Communist sympathizers who got money from the big foundations "The foundations," Johnson said in response to questions by Harold M. Keele, committee counsel, "should check all their grants to Communists and Communist organizations."

"Who brought in the recommendations. When they look that up, they can tell who was working for the Communist party. The foundations should be willing to ferret out this information and clean house."

Malkin told how his "agit-prop" commission, a unit established to agitate and propagandize, got orders for the creation of the International Juridical association, which later became the National Lawyers' guild, an organization that has been listed as subversive.

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*Use of Benevolent Trust Funds
Philanthropies and Eleemosynary
Institutions To Implement The
Programs of Subversive Groups*

*File: Use of Benevolent
Trusts ect.
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N.Y. Herald Tribune _____
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Miss Gandy	_____

Browder
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File: Use of Benevolent
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100-385355-A Times Herald #2

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98 JAN 9 1953

Date 12-23-52

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68 JAN 12 1953

BUDENZ NAMES 30 AT PROBE AS REDS OR EX-REDS

[By International News Service]

Ex-Communist Louis Budenz today named as Reds or former Reds 30 persons associated with wealthy tax-exempt foundations.

Budenz told House investigators that he knew of seven Communists who served as officials of such foundations and of 23 others who received foundation grants.

He declared that the multi-million-dollar Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Rockefeller and Guggenheim Foundations were "particular targets" of Communists in their plan to infiltrate American cultural organizations.

Cites Two Objectives

Budenz, who left the Communist party in 1945 and now is professor of economics at Fordham university, said the Communists had two objectives in penetrating large foundations.

He said these were to obtain grants for Communists and pro-Communists and to prevent grants to critics of communism.

Budenz named as one-time Communists the following recipients of foundation grants:

Poet Langston Hughes; three Hollywood writers, Alva H. Bessie, Jack Conroy and Carey McWilliams; a former Hunter college professor, Dr. Bernard Reiss; the composer, Earl Robinson; Isadore Schneider, Maxwell Stewart, the late Genevieve Taggard and the author, Richard Wright, all Guggenheim fellows.

Dr. W. E. DuBois, Claude McKay, Clark Forman, Shirley Graham, dancer Pearl Primus; a Yale law professor, Thomas I. Emerson, and John K. Fairbank, all of whom received grants from the Rosenwald fund.

Dr. Corliss Lamont, a former Polish ambassador, Oscar Lange; Hanns Eisler; a former Cornell university professor, Walter Gelhorn; Lawrence K. Rossinger and Thomas Bisson, all recipients of Rockefeller funds.

Named as Officials

In addition, Budenz said he knew as Communists the following officials of foundations:

Dr. Linus Pauling, an adviser to the Guggenheim organization.

Dr. Mary Van Kleeck, of the Russell Sage Foundation.

Frederick Vanderbilt Field, associated with a number of organizations.

Louise Bransten, of the Rosenwald Foundation.

Doxie Wilkerson and Dr. Ira Reid, members of the Rockefeller general education board.

Louis Weiss, a member of the board of the Marshall Field Foundation.

Mr. Tolson	_____
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Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
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Use of Benevolent Trust
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Institutions To Implement
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*Memo
Belmont
To [unclear]
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Times Herald p 2
Date 12-23-52

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(FOUNDATIONS.)

E.-COMMUNIST LOUIS BUDENZ MORE TODAY THAT EDUCATORS OR OFFICIALS CONNECTED WITH TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS ARE ACTIVE OR

"CONCEALED" RED PARTY MEMBERS

AMONG THOSE HE NAMED WERE DR. LINUS PAULING, ATOMIC PHYSICIST; PROFS. CORLISS LAMONT AND BERNARD REISS; FINANCIER FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD, AND DR. OSCAR LANGE, ONE-TIME POLISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES.

BUDENZ, FORDHAM UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR AND ONE-TIME MANAGING EDITOR OF THE COMMUNIST DAILY WORKER, TESTIFIED BEFORE A SELECT HOUSE COMMITTEE TRYING TO DETERMINE WHETHER ANY FOUNDATION FUNDS HAVE BEEN USED FOR "SUBVERSIVE" ACTIVITIES.

HE SAID THE COMMUNISTS IN THE LATE 20'S WORKED THEIR WAY INTO FOUNDATIONS ON DIRECT ORDERS FROM MOSCOW IN AN ATTEMPT TO CHANNEL THEIR FUNDS INTO PRO-COMMUNIST CAUSES. HE SAID SEVEN OF THE PARTY MEMBERS HE NAMED BECAME TRUSTEES, OFFICERS, OR EMPLOYEES OF 51 FOUNDATIONS, WHILE THE OTHER 23 OBTAINED GRANTS FROM FIVE FOUNDATIONS TO BE USED FOR RED PURPOSES.

HE SAID THE SEVEN IN THE FOUNDATIONS WERE "CONCEALED PARTY MEMBERS." THEY HAD NO PARTY CARD OR "ANY OTHER VESTIGE OF MEMBERSHIP," AND MADE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PARTY SO THEY WOULD NOT GO ON RECORD AS PAYING DUES.

BUDENZ SAID THE SEVEN WERE PAULING, A MEMBER OF THE ADVISORY BOARD THAT CHOSE FELLOWSHIPS FOR THE GUGGENHEIM FOUNDATION; MARY VAN KLEECK, AN EMPLOYEE OF THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION; FIELD, WHO HEADED HIS OWN "AMERICAN PEOPLE'S FUND"; LOUIS S. WEISS, A TRUSTEE FOR THE MARSHALL FIELD FUND; DORIE WILKERSON AND DR. IRA REID, MEMBERS OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION'S GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD, AND LOUIS BRANSTEN OF THE ROSENWALD FUND.

THE OTHER 23, HE SAID, RECEIVED GRANTS OR FELLOWSHIPS FROM THE SAME FOUNDATIONS.

12/23--GE209P

File: Use of Benevolent Trusts, etc.

*Use of Benevolent Trust Funds, Philanthropies and
Eleemosynary Institutions to Implement The program
of subversive groups*

100-385355-A

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21 JAN 5 1953

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Washington City News Service

ADD: FOUNDATIONS

THOSE WHO RECEIVED ROSENWALD FELLOWSHIPS WERE L. STON HUGHES, ALVA BESSIE, JACK CONTHOY, GREY MCWILLIAMS, REISS, E. L. ROBINSON, ISADORE SCHNEIDER, MAXWELL STEWART, RICHARD WRIGHT, AND THE LATE GENEVIEVE TAGGARD.

ROSENWALD GRANTS, HE SAID, WENT TO W. E. B. DUBOIS, CLAUDE MCKAY, CLARK FORMAN, SHIRLEY GRAHAM, PEARL PRINUS, THOMAS J. EMERSON, AND JOHN FAIRBANKS.

HE SAID LANGE AND LAMONT RECEIVED GRANTS FROM THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION WHILE ROCKEFELLER GRANTS WERE MADE TO HANS EISLER, DR. WALTER GELHORN, LAWRENCE K. ROSSINGER, AND THOMAS A. BISON.

BUDENZ SAID IN EVERY CASE HE KNEW THE PERSON TO BE A COMMUNIST EITHER "FROM MY PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OR FROM OFFICIAL REPORTS OR STATEMENTS FROM MY SUPERIOR FUNCTIONARIES -- EUGENE DENNIS AND JACK STACHEL." DENNIS AND STACHEL WERE AMONG THE 15 COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS IMPRISONED FOR SEEKING TO ADVOCATE THE OVERTHROW OF THE U. S. GOVERNMENT.

BUDENZ TOLD THE COMMITTEE THAT ON ORDER FROM THE POLITBURO IN MOSCOW THE AMERICAN COMMUNISTS SET UP A SPECIAL SUBCOMMISSION TO INFILTRATE FOUNDATIONS. THE OBJECT, HE SAID, WAS TO "GET CONCEALED COMMUNISTS IN FOUNDATIONS TO OBTAIN GRANTS FOR PRO-COMMUNISTS ON MATTERS THE COMMUNISTS WANTED TO ADVANCE."

BUDENZ DEFINED COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS AS "THOSE ORGANIZED AND UNDER COMMUNIST PARTY CONTROL ALL DURING THEIR OPERATIONS."

HE SAID REAL COMMUNIST FRONTS ARE MADE UP PRIMARILY OF 90 PERCENT OF "CONCEALED COMMUNISTS" AND 10 PERCENT OF PEOPLE WHO THEM THEM AN "AIR OF DISTINCTION."

HE SAID ANYONE WHO BELONGS TO FIVE OR MORE COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS, WITHOUT DOUBT IS A "CONCEALED COMMUNIST." IF THEY BELONG TO A FEWER NUMBER, HE ADDED, THEY "MAY HAVE BEEN DECEIVED."

12/23--GE214P

CORRESPONDENTS:

A REPORT BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES IS AVAILABLE FOR SUNDAY RELEASE.

WGN

12/23--GE215P

Use of Benevolent Trust Funds
Philanthropies and Educational
Institutions to Implement The

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Two Ex-Reds Explain Party's Efforts to Get Foundation Grants

Program of Subversive
Groups

By the Associated Press

Two ex-Communists told a House committee yesterday that Red party policy in the thirties was aimed at gaining influence in American philanthropic foundations so the Communists could tap their treasuries.

Maurice Malkin and Manning Johnson of New York, now consultants for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, gave their testimony as the House group continued its inquiry to find out if tax-exempt philanthropic foundations are aiding subversive activities.

Policy Explained.

Both witnesses testified that after 1928, at Moscow's direction, the United States Communist Party made a determined effort to infiltrate the trustees or staffs of funds devoted to charitable purposes.

Mr. Malkin, who said he quit the Communist Party in 1937, said the work was masterminded by the "Agitprop" propaganda unit which later became known as the "Cultural Commission."

The aim, the witnesses said, was to influence the foundations to make grants to either Communist fronts or to Communist members who would devote their funds to Red causes.

Mr. Malkin said Communists were aided by the contributions from the Hecksler Foundation, the Marshall Field Fund, the Russell Sage Foundation, the American Fund for Public Service, the Phelps-Stokes Foundation, the Garland Fund and the Robert Marshall Fund.

Infiltration Accomplished.

He also said the Communists succeeded in getting members into the Carnegie and Guggenheim Foundations, but not at the level of the trustees.

Mr. Johnson, who said he became disillusioned with the party in 1940 because it was using Negroes to advance the policies of Soviet Russia, testified he knew Mary Van Kleeck as a member of the party.

She was an employee of the Russell Sage Foundation, he said, "and had quite a few connections which were very good."

Joe
Baughman

John T. ...

5-Joe

File in ...
Benevolent ...
etc.

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G.M. Edition

Date: 12-23-52

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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds, Philanthropies and Eleemosynary Institutions To Implement The Programs of Subversive Groups

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2 Tell of Red Policy To Use Foundations

By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

Two former Communist Party members yesterday testified that for many years it was Communist strategy to "infiltrate" tax-exempt foundations and "tap" their treasuries for Red-front causes.

The Communists did succeed in getting a number of their people into several foundations between 1920 and 1940, the witnesses told a special House committee investigating the possible subversive use of foundation money.

Their testimony gave no indication, however, to what extent, if any, Communists are active in present leading foundations.

Officials of major foundations have acknowledged that in the past a relatively very small portion of their funds have gone to persons and groups later alleged to be Communist or pro-Communist.

Line Set in 1920

Maurice Malkin, who said he was a charter member of the Communist Party in 1919 and remained in it until 1937, asserted that in the 1920s the "line was laid down" to penetrate the foundations and all other cultural organizations.

Manning Johnson, a member of the party from 1930 to 1940, said: "I do believe that the foundations have been infiltrated both on high and lower levels."

Malkin and Johnson were both on the National Committee of the Communist Party. Now consultants to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, for many years they have testified at congressional hearings and Federal proceedings.

Some of the foundations they criticized, at length are either

no longer operating or have lost their tax exemption.

Malkin said the Communists "succeeded in placing a few Communists at the control board" of the Garland Fund. He said they included Earl Browder, William C. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow. Johnson said the Communists and Communist-front groups "were able to use substantially all of the two million dollars that constituted the Garland Fund."

A large part of that money, Johnson said, was used to finance the Daily Worker and other Communist publications.

Other money for Communist purposes, said Malkin, came for a time from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, through the intercession of Mrs. Rose Stokes.

Malkin said Mrs. Stokes "was a charter member of the party," and that those funds ceased coming when she was divorced by her husband.

"Front" Groups Aided

The Robert Marshall Fund, said Malkin, gave considerable aid to Communist fronts. The fund has since been stricken from the tax-exempt list.

Malkin said the Marshall Field Foundation has given some financial support to "front" groups, and he said two of its trustees have been particularly active in Communist-front groups.

He identified them as Channing Tobias, prominent Negro leader, and Judge Justine Wise Polier of New York's Domestic Relations Court. Both have been mentioned in the hearings previously, and have categorically denied any pro-Communist sympathies. Tobias was investigated by a Senate subcommittee last year and approved as a delegate to the United Nations.

Without citing any specific details, the witnesses testified that

the Carnegie Foundation, the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Rosenwald Fund (which is now defunct) have at varying times also made some grants which found their way into pro-Communist channels.

Malkin said that Michael Straight, editor of New Republic magazine and head of a family fund, the Whitney Foundation, "has been used" by the Communists. Straight has denied aiding any groups known at the time to be pro-Communist.

Johnson and Malkin both said that Mary Van Kleeck, a former staff member of the Russell Sage Foundation, was known to them

as a Communist. Johnson said that Corliss Lamont, writer and sort of a prominent New York financier, "was also spoken of in the higher circles of the Communist Party as a member of the Communist Party."

B. B. Jones

*5- Infiltration
File: Use of Benevolent
Funds, etc*

Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N.Y. Herald Tribune

N.Y. Mirror

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Date: 12/23/52

Budenz Calls Foundations Prey of Reds

Communists Told To Get or Block Grants, House Committee Hears

By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

Former Communist Louis F. Budenz swore yesterday that 30 persons who received research grants from tax-exempt foundations or who helped dispense such grants were either Communist cardholders or under Communist "discipline."

Most of those cited were scholars or scientists previously accused of Communist activities by Budenz or other former Communists. Budenz mentioned several new names, however, which brought immediate denials.

Budenz, a Communist official from 1935 to 1945, told a House committee that the Communist Party's Cultural Commission had a special subcommittee which sought to obtain foundation grants for Communists, and block them for anti-Communists.

He said a high Communist once told him: "We are using the capitalist money to destroy capitalism."

The Communists did "express satisfaction" with their efforts to get foundation money, Budenz added. But Budenz said he did not in any way want to imply that the Communists had "control of the foundations." Previous testimony has shown that grants to alleged Communists and pro-Communists amounted to very small proportions of all foundation grants.

Budenz, a former managing editor of the Communist Daily Worker, is now a professor at Fordham University. One of the most vocal and controversial former Communists, he is a frequent witness at hearings and court trials.

His testimony yesterday was given to the special House committee, headed by Rep. E. E. Clegg (D-Ga.), which is probing possible subversive activities in a foundation field.

Cox has been absent from most of the hearings because of illness and Rep. Brooks Hays (D-Ark.), acting chairman, said yesterday's session was expected to be the last of the hearings, which began on November 18. The committee must file a report by January 1.

Spokesmen for the foundations have themselves cited many of the names mentioned by Budenz. Because of the "venture capital" nature of foundation grants, the officials said, it is impossible to avoid all risk in making research grants. Many of the charges that recipients of grants were Communists arose years after the grants were made.

Through a lack of detailed information, some of the names Budenz gave yesterday were associated in some press reports with the wrong foundation. That resulted late yesterday in some of the foundations issuing denials of charges which were not actually made.

Budenz said he had two ways of knowing that the persons he named were Communists—through "personal knowledge" and from "official communications" of the Communist Party.

He said he was "officially advised" that Dr. Linus Pauling, atomic scientist who was identified as a member of a board which considers Guggenheim Foundation fellowships, was a Communist.

Charges Denied

In Pasadena, Calif., Dr. Pauling said: "This statement is a lie. I have never been a member of the Communist Party, and I have sworn to this fact."

Dr. Pauling added, "earlier statements made by him have caused me to suspect that he is a liar. Now I know that he is a liar—a professional liar."

"It is disgraceful that a committee of the United States Congress should permit, and even aid such a scurvy, unconscionable person to cause trouble for respectable people."

"If Budenz is not prosecuted for perjury, we must conclude that our courts and congressional committees are not interested in learning and disclosing the truth."

Dr. Pauling is professor of chemistry and chairman of the division of chemistry and chemical engineering at California Institute of Technology.

Budenz said he knew "from repeated official communications" that Professor Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School faculty, who received a Guggenheim grant, "was a member of the Communist Party."

In New Haven, Emerson said Budenz was "dreading up things." Emerson added: "I have never been a member of the Communist Party and could not possibly have been listed as a member on their records."

Budenz listed about 11 other persons as "Communists" who received Guggenheim grants. Other Communists, he said, received grants or benefited from grants through the Rockefeller Foundation, the Rosenwald Fund, the Rosenberg Fund of California, and other groups.

Dr. Walter Gellhorn of Columbia University, who worked on a project aided by Rockefeller money, was another Communist, said Budenz.

At Columbia University, Dr. Gellhorn said:

"If Budenz said that I have ever been a Communist, his statement is absolutely and unqualifiedly false. I am not and never have been a Communist of any description whatever."

Budenz testified that the late Louis S. Weiss was also a member of the Communist Party.

Others Named

In New York, Maxwell Hahn, executive vice president of the

Marshall Field Foundation, said Weiss, who had died in 1950, had been a member of the foundation board and its secretary. No one at the foundation, said Hahn, "has any knowledge that he (Weiss) ever engaged in any subversive activity."

Budenz said under questioning by Committee Counsel Harold M. Keele, that Dixie Wilkerson is "so conspicuous as a Communist that I almost hesitate to name him..." Wilkerson and Dr. Ira Reid, whom Budenz also called a Communist, received grants from the General Education Board, which is supported by Rockefeller money, the committee said.

Others whom he said he knew to be Communists and who received grants from various foundations, Budenz testified, were Dr. Oscar Lange, former Polish ambassador to the United States; Writer Maxwell Stewart; Cary McWilliams; Clark Foreman; Lawrence K. Rossinger and Thomas A. Bisson, specialists on Far East affairs; and John K. Fairbank, a Harvard University professor. Fairbank, who flatly denied a similar accusation by Budenz in the past before a Senate subcommittee, recently was cleared by the Army to go to Japan on a Guggenheim Fellowship.

In addition to providing the extensive list of alleged Communists to the committee, Budenz went further than he has ever gone before publicly in giving his opinion on how to distinguish Communists from innocent members of Communist "fronts."

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Use of Beneficial Trust Funds, etc.

After first stating that a Communist "front" is actually a group created by the Communists, as distinguished from others they have "captured," Budenz went on to say:

"Ninety percent of the persons who lend their names as sponsors of Communist fronts are concealed Communists."

"If a person joins one or two fronts he may be deceived... but if he joins 5, 10, 15 or up to 60 or 70 Communist fronts... that proves he is a Communist."

File 100-385355
Budenz

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*Use of Benevolent Trust Funds,
Philanthropies and Eleemosynary
Institutions To Implement The
Programs of Subversive groups*

Sam Gardner
Blair

(FOUNDATIONS)

A SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE BEGAN DRAFTING A REPORT TODAY ON ITS FIVE-WEEK INVESTIGATION OF CHARGES THAT SOME TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS HAVE FINANCED SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES.

ALTHOUGH MEMBERS DECLINED TO DISCUSS THE REPORT, IT WAS BELIEVED THE COMMITTEE WILL RECOMMEND TIGHTER CONTROLS ON ALL RESEARCH, EDUCATIONAL OR CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH OPERATE WITH TAX-FREE DONATIONS.

ONE PROPOSAL FREQUENTLY MENTIONED DURING THE HEARINGS WAS A REQUIREMENT THAT ALL FOUNDATIONS OPERATE IN A "GOLD FISH BOWL" OF FULL PUBLICITY SO ANY SUBVERSIVE OR ILLEGAL ACTIONS COULD BE SPOTTED QUICKLY. MOST OF THE LARGER FOUNDATIONS ALREADY DO THIS.

THE COMMITTEE, HEADED BY REP. E. E. COX (D-GA.), WOUND UP ITS HEARINGS YESTERDAY.

IN THE LAST WEEK, COMMITTEE COUNSEL HAROLD M. KEELE PRESENTED A FORMER SOVIET OFFICIAL, IVOR BOGOLOPOV, AND THREE EX-COMMUNISTS--LOUIS F. BUDENZ, MANNING JOHNSON AND MAURICE MALKIN--WHO SWORE THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAD UNDERTAKEN ON ORDERS FROM MOSCOW A PLOT TO "INFILTRATE" THE TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS.

FOUNDATIONS OFFICIALS, INCLUDING HENRY FORD II AND PRESIDENT CHARLES DOLLARD OF THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION, HAD TESTIFIED THAT THE FOUNDATIONS HAD NEVER KNOWINGLY HIRED ANY COMMUNISTS OR MADE GRANTS TO ANY "SUBVERSIVE" GROUPS OR ACTIVITIES.

BUDENZ, THE COMMITTEE'S LAST WITNESS, TESTIFIED UNDER OATH YESTERDAY, THAT 30 "ACTIVE OR CONCEALED" COMMUNISTS HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN A PLOT SEEKING TO "CONTROL" THE FOUNDATION ON GRANTS OR PROMOTE RED CAUSES.

12/24--P932A

*File: Use of Benevolent
Trusts, etc*

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JAN 15 1953

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98 JAN 14 1953

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

*National Committee To Secure Justice
in the Rosenberg Case*

CLEMENCY DELEGATIONS WILL GO TO WASHINGTON JAN. 5

Hundreds of Americans of all creeds will go to Washington Jan. 5 to plead with top government officials—President Truman, Congressmen and Senators—for clemency for the Rosenbergs and a commutation of the death sentence. Their electrocution is scheduled the week of Jan. 12. The an-

ouncement of this mass National Clemency Gathering on behalf of the two innocent martyrs was issued by the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, 1050 Sixth Avenue, New York, which has been playing a leading part in bringing the truth about this case to the nation and the world.

The Committee, which had obtained the Washington National Guard Armory for Jan. 4-5 for a mass clemency prayer and petition, found that its contract had been cancelled after it had been agreed to.

"We are emphasizing the Monday, Jan. 5, Clemency Gathering which will occupy itself with visits to the President, Senators, and Congressmen," the Committee said.

There will also be a Jan. 4 national conference in Washington of several hundred persons comprising leaders of the Rosenberg committees throughout the country and religious, professional and labor leaders active in the fight for clemency, the Committee also announced.

The Committee proposed:

- That all groups active on behalf of clemency plan every action, whether it be a public meeting, newspaper advertisement, delegation or other action in such a way as to gain the approval and cooperation of the largest and most representative body of persons.
- That every effort be made to secure the participation of religious, labor and professional groups, whether or not they have already spoken up for clemency,

in the National Clemency Gathering. (Rail tickets available for New York participants at \$12 round trip.)

- That every city and town send participants to the Clemency Vigil (a 24-hour vigil at the White House, beginning on the evening of Dec. 27 and continuing every day). Further information may be obtained by communicating with the Washington Rosenberg Committee, 1867 Kalorama Road, NW, Washington, D. C. Tel CO 5-0302.

- That letters and delegations go to every Senator and Congressman on the weekends that they are home, that delegations go to see mayors and other city officials, and that governors likewise be visited. All should be asked to speak up for clemency, privately or publicly.

- Every clergyman, regardless of faith, should be asked to give a sermon urging his congregation to

write to President Truman to grant clemency.

- Every person of some prominence, whether lawyer, doctor, humane leader, or other, regardless of his or her position on any other issue of our time, should be written to and visited.

- Every city and every community, where a clemency committee or group exists, should make every effort to obtain advertising space in the city and community newspapers.

- Door-to-door, street-by-street visits, distribution of printed material, and solicitation of letters and wires to the President. Also community-wide mailings, cutting across all voters lists.

The Committee repeated its urgent appeal for \$50,000 to finance the last few weeks' activity, ads, last-minute investigative work, mailings, radio programs and other actions.

This is a clipping from
Page 1 of the
Daily Worker

Date 12-24-52
Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds, Philanthropies and Eleemosynary Institutions to Implement the Programs of Subversive Groups

House Group Expected To Ask Foundations to Tell More About Work

By the Associated Press

A special House committee probably will recommend this week that tax-free foundations provide the Government with more information about their activities.

The committee is scheduled to report to Congress before Thursday on its investigation of educational and philanthropic foundations. The purpose was to determine whether their funds are being used for subversive activities.

Several witnesses, including a former Soviet foreign office official, told the committee that Communists set out to capture control of these foundations in the mid-thirties. Premier Stalin decided then they said, that the Communist revolution in the West would be started by intellectuals, not the workers.

The committee is expected to recommend that such foundations be required to furnish the Government with detailed information concerning the individual scholars to whom they supply financial help for further research.

Re: Bingham

5- Sullivan

*File: Use of Benevolent
 Funds etc*

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Mr. Tolson
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Mr. Tracy
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Mr. Winterrowd
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Miss Gandy

Use of Benevolent Trust Funds,
Philanthropies and Ekeemosynary
Institutions to Implement the
Programs of Subversive Groups

*Baumgardner
Bauer*

(RELEASE AT 6:00 P.M. EST)
(FOUNDATIONS)

A SPECIAL HOUSE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE SAID THAT SOME TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS WERE GULLIBLE IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH COMMUNISTS AND LEFT-WINGERS BUT THAT THEY DID NOT INTENTIONALLY SUPPORT SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES.

IT SAID THE "UGLY UNALTERABLE FACT" THAT ALGER HISS BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE WAS ONE OF THE "UNHAPPY EXCEPTIONS." IN THE SAME CATEGORY, IT SAID, WAS THE FACT THAT FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD WAS SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS.

THE CONCLUSIONS WERE CONTAINED IN A REPORT WHICH ALSO URGED THE NEW 83RD CONGRESS, WHICH CONVENES TOMORROW, TO REQUIRE ALL TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS TO MAKE A MORE DETAILED ACCOUNTING OF THEIR FINANCING AND OPERATIONS.

THE INVESTIGATORS SAID THEY BELIEVED A "FULL PUBLIC DISCLOSURE" OF FOUNDATION RESOURCES AND ACTIVITIES WOULD PROVIDE A MORE POSITIVE CHECK ON WHETHER THEIR TAX EXEMPT FUNDS HAVE BEEN USED IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST.

THE COMMITTEE, HEADED BY THE LATE REP. E. E. COX (D-GA.), ALSO SUGGESTED THAT CONGRESS LOOK INTO THE POSSIBILITY OF REVISING THE TAX LAWS TO ENCOURAGE GIFTS TO FOUNDATIONS BY CORPORATIONS AND PRIVATE CITIZENS.

1/2--N515P

*File: Use of Benevolent
Trusts etc.*

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Use of Voluntary Trust Funds, Foundations and
Eleemosynary Institutions to Implement The
Programs of Subversive Groups

(RELEASE AT 6:00 P.M. EST)

ADD 1 FOUNDATIONS

THE COMMITTEE EXPRESSED FEARS THAT PRESENT HIGH TAX RATES WITHIN 10 TO 15 YEARS WILL MAKE IMPOSSIBLE THE CREATION OF LARGE PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS LIKE THE FORD, ROCKEFELLER AND CARNEGIE FUNDS.

ONE LAWMAKER, REP. B. CARROLL REECE (R-TENN.), RECOMMENDED THAT THE INVESTIGATION BE CONTINUED. HE SAID A "MORE COMPREHENSIVE STUDY" IS NEEDED BECAUSE "TAX EXEMPT FUNDS IN VERY LARGE AMOUNTS ARE SPENT WITHOUT PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY OR OFFICIAL SUPERVISION" AND SOME "QUESTIONABLE" EXPENDITURES HAVE BEEN MADE.

THE COMMITTEE REPORT SAID FOUNDATIONS GENERALLY ARE "AN IMPORTANT AND VITAL FORCE IN AMERICAN LIFE" AND HAVE "RENDERED GREAT AND SIGNIFICANT SERVICE IN MANY FIELDS" TO THE NATION'S GROWTH AND PROGRESS. IT SAID THEY WILL BE EVEN MORE NECESSARY IN THE FUTURE.

IT SAID THE INVESTIGATION DID NOT DISCLOSE ANY INSTANCE WHERE FOUNDATION RESOURCES WERE USED TO "WEAKEN, UNDERMINE OR DISCREDIT THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF FREE ENTERPRISE."

IT SAID THAT A FEW SMALLER FOUNDATIONS WERE CAPTURED OUTFRIT BY THE COMMUNISTS. THAT A NUMBER INCLUDED A COMMUNIST OR SYMPATHIZER ON THEIR BOARDS OF TRUSTEES AND "OCCASIONALLY A COMMUNIST MANAGED TO SECURE A POSITION ON THE STAFF OF A FOUNDATION."

"THERE REMAINS THE UGLY UNALTERABLE FACT THAT AGLER HISS BECAME THE PRESIDENT OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE," THE REPORT CONTINUED.

BUT IT SAID THAT AS FAR AS IT COULD LEARN, THE ONE-TIME STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL WHO NOW IS SERVING A PERJURY SENTENCE, "TOOK NO OFFICIAL ACTION TO FURTHER THE COMMUNIST CAUSE" DURING HIS TERM AS CARNEGIE PRESIDENT.

THE COMMITTEE SAID, HOWEVER THAT FINANCIAL AID RECEIVED FROM THE FOUNDATIONS BY COMMUNISTS WAS "SURPRISINGLY SMALL...WHEN VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF THE TOTAL GRANTS MADE."

THE COMMITTEE SAID IT WAS "UNWILLING TO SAY THE FOUNDATIONS ARE BLAMELESS." BUT IT ADDED THAT THEY WERE "GUILTY PRINCIPALLY OF INDULGING IN THE SAME GULLIBILITY WHICH INFECTED FAR TOO MANY OF OUR LOYAL AND PATRIOTIC CITIZENS."

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Baumgardner

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Washington City News Service

Use of Benevolent Trust Funds
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File: Use of Benevolent
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House Unit Criticizes Foundations for Aiding Some Reds But Generally Praises Projects

House investigators said yesterday that tax-exempt foundations are making a "vital" contribution to American progress, despite the fact that some of their past grants went to Communists and pro-Communists.

That finding was returned by a special House committee, headed by Rep. E. Eugene Cox (D-Ga.), who died on December 24. The committee's investigation featured many of the great names in philanthropic work, including the Rockefeller, Ford and Carnegie foundations.

The group expressed serious concern about Communist attempts to infiltrate foundations and obtain support for pro-Communist work. But it said "the foundations are aware of the present danger and are exerting and will continue to exert diligence in averting further mistakes."

"On balance," said the committee, "the record of the foundations is good."

The committee said it believes "that there was infiltration (by Communists) and that judgments were made which, in the light of hindsight, were mistakes."

But it said it "also believes that many of these mistakes were made without the knowledge of facts which, while later

obtainable, could not have been readily ascertained at the time decisions were taken."

There is, it said, "the ugly, unalterable fact that Alger Hiss became the president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace."

Another "regrettable incident," it said, is the fact that Frederick Vanderbilt Field, New York millionaire accused of Communist activities, became secretary of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

But from a balanced view, it said, "The foundation, once considered a boon to society, now seems to be a vital and essential factor in our progress."

In its two major recommendations the committee said:

1. The new Congress, which convenes today, should enact legislation to require all foundations to make a public accounting of their activities. (Many foundations already make detailed public reports, and all tax-exempt groups now file reports with the Bureau of Internal Revenue.)

2. The Ways and Means Committee should "reexamine pertinent tax laws" to encourage gifts "to these meritorious institutions."

The committee said "a few small foundations became the captives of the Communist Party," and "here and there a foundation board included a Communist or a Communist sympathizer." But, it said, "Our investigation, hurried by lack of time, indicates that very few, actual Communists or Communist sympathizers obtained po-

sitions of influence in the foundations."

Total foundation grants to Communists and pro-Communists, and the amounts involved, "are alarming," said the committee. But, "proportionately, when viewed in the light of the total grants made, they are surprisingly small."

In most instances, said the committee, these "unfortunate grants" were made before the individuals concerned came under attack.

"We are impressed with the fact, however," the committee said, "that most of these malodorous individuals were selected under political conditions very different from those that now exist and the decisions were taken in a political and emotional climate very different from the present."

The committee report was issued by Rep. Brooks Hays (D-Ark.), acting chairman; Rep. Donald L. O'Toole (D-N. Y.), Rep. Aime J. Forand (D-R. I.); Rep. Richard M. Simpson (R-Pa.); Rep. Angier L. Goodwin (R-Mass.) and Rep. B. Carroll Reece (R-Tenn.). Harold M. Keele, of Chicago, who served as committee counsel, drew high praise from the committee for his work.

Of the \$75,000 allotted to it for the investigation, the committee said about \$25,000 was left over and will be returned to Congress. It praised the foundations for their cooperation in the inquiry, and said there was no instance of "obstruction, delay or resentment on the part of the foundations."

00 JAN 29 1953

PROBERS ASSAIL FOUNDATIONS' BACKING REDS

House Told Financial Aid 'Alarming'

BY WILLIAM MOORE

House investigators reported yesterday that American philanthropic foundations have given financial aid to Communists in amounts that are "alarming."

The story of the foundations' support of Communists was told in a report by the special House committee which has been investigating the influence of Communists in the tax exempt foundations.

The committee told the House that foundations have been too gullible in selecting those to whom they have given financial help.

It recommended that more of the foundations' trustees and staff members, now principally recruited from the East, be chosen from "west of the Hudson river."

Infiltration Cited

The committee found that very few Communists attained positions of influence in the foundations, but said:

"However, there are some unhappy instances where the committee is convinced infiltration occurred.

"There remains the ugly unalterable fact that Alger Hiss became the president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. And this despite the fact that his nomination and election came about thru the efforts of men of proven loyalty and broad experience in public affairs."

Hiss, now serving a prison sentence for perjury in denying that he gave secret information to a Communist spy ring, was recommended for the post by John Foster Dulles, state secretary-designate.

Grants Are Given
The committee said of the grants given Communists and communist sympathizers:

"In the aggregate, the number of such grants and the amounts involved are alarming. Proportionately, when viewed in the light of the total grants made, they are surprisingly small."

The committee noted that the Guggenheim Foundation confines its work to giving fellowships to individuals and explained that its risk of aiding persons who turn out to be Communists is consequently greater. The committee praised the foundation for doing an "outstanding job" in selecting fellows, but added:

"Despite this notable record, 40 of its fellows have received unfavorable mention by established governmental agencies, and 41 additional Guggenheim fellows have received ten or more citations (for membership in Communist front organizations)."

Giant Funds Studied

The committee found that some of the giant foundations, including the Ford and Rockefeller foundations and the Carnegie Endowment, are internationalist. But the committee said their internationalism is more along the lines of international co-operation in cultural and educational fields than in politics.

The report said the internationalist organizations support American participation in the United Nations, but that they deny any participation in politics or political propaganda.

The committee found the foundations are doing a work that could not be accomplished by the government, and recommended that the tax-writing house ways and means committee give encouragement to the foundation movement in tax legislation.

The committee also recommended legislation to require public accounting by the foundations. The larger ones now make public accountings, but some of the smaller ones object to making accountings.

The committee is composed of Reps. Hays of Arkansas, O'Toole of New York and Forand of Rhode Island, Democrats, and Simpson, of Pennsylvania, Goodwin of Massachusetts and Reece of Tennessee, Republicans. Hays has been acting chairman because of the illness and subsequent death of Rep. Cox (D) of Georgia, the appointed chairman.

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IGOR'S STORY

Buried in the verbatim testimony taken by the House select committee to investigate the tax exempt foundations, which has not yet been published, is the amazing story of Mr. Igor Bogolepov.

Bogolepov, as the name indicates, is a Russian, born in Siberia in 1904, graduated from the University of Petrograd (now Leningrad) in 1923, a lawyer, and formerly one of the Soviet elite.

Bogolepov was a big wheel in the Soviet bureaucracy. He was a colonel on the general staff of the Red army as late as 1941. He was fifth man in rank, in the Soviet foreign office, taking orders directly from Litvinov, then from Molotov. He helped to plot Soviet infiltration of the staff of the old League of Nations, back in the 1930s.

In 1942, he deserted the Communist cause, taking part of the Red army with him. As he tells it:

"When the war against the Germans started in the summer of 1941, I joined again the Red army, and in 1942, together with other Soviet officers and generals, we escaped thru the front lines to the Germans in order to organize the overthrow of the Soviet government with the help of the Germans, which proved to be a false expectation."

The Nazis first threw him into a concentration camp. Then they gave him a radio station where, for a year, he broadcast anti-Communist propaganda to Russia until "I was obliged to break with the Germans because of their policy which, as I discovered, was not anti-Bolshevik, but anti-Russian." Bogolepov went into hiding on German farms, never becoming a Nazi.

"Because of the Yalta agreement, which required that every Russian Communist or anti-Communist alike, who was in Western Europe should be returned back, I had to go in hiding from the Americans, and I got out of my hiding only in 1947."

He worked with American Army intel-

ligence in Germany until April, 1951, when a congressional subpoena brought him to the United States. He told the House committee how Stalin planned the infiltration of American charitable foundations, to deflect their millions to the Communist cause, and how Oumansky, the Soviet ambassador to America, reported monthly about his success with the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Indeed, the latter foundation, whose first post-war president was Alger Hiss, nominated to the job by Secretary of State designate John Foster Dulles, offered Mr. Bogolepov a personal grant back in 1929 to enable him to study international law in Paris. The endowment knew he was a Communist, in fact, a high commissar of the Soviet, and Soviet delegate to the League of Nations.

"I was extremely glad to get away from the Soviet Union, of course. I reported the whole business to my superiors, to Foreign Commissar Litvinov. They discussed it. . . . Then I was informed that I had to write a letter to the Carnegie Endowment in Paris thanking them for kind invitation and saying that my duties make it impossible for me to leave Moscow right now, but I would recommend warmly a friend of mine, the employee of the same foreign office, a certain Mr. Hoerschelmann."

Carnegie Endowment records furnished to the House committee show that in 1929-1930, Edouard E. Hoerschelmann, appointed from the first State university of Moscow, attended the University of Paris under a grant paid out of the late American steel magnate's fortune. And who was Hoerschelmann?

"I knew this Hoerschelmann, and I met him in the foreign office, but, as a matter of fact, he was not an employee of the foreign office but of the Soviet political intelligence, which is known now under the name of M.V.D., the secret police, and with the foreign administration of this M.V.D., which is in charge of the Soviet spy activity board."

This was in 1929, when only a relatively few alert Americans recognized the peril of the Communist conspiracy. But listen to the rest of Bogolepov's testimony:

"After I was able to desert the Soviet cause, and when I came to the West, after the end of the war, I make myself some efforts to contact the same organizations, Carnegie Endowment, and Rockefeller, and Brookings, and Guggenheim, and a lot of others, who I have written in rather naive mood that now I am not under duress and pressure, now I am again myself, without an obligation to the cause, which was always strange to me, I would like to have the opportunity to help with the knowledge I have about the Soviet Union, its subversive activities, real aims, etc."

"I started to make my applications and appeals in 1946, 1947, writing the letters. The result was always negative. The reason was different. Sometimes they thought it would be only for the American citizens, sometimes they have no funds, sometimes they simply did not answer, but with all these various reasons the result was one and the same, I was always rejected, and this difference of treatment of the same person certainly astonished me very much."

Former comrade Bogolepov has a right to be astonished at the treatment of the capitalist foundations in America. As long as he was a Communist, a commissar in fact, he was eligible for a foundation grant and could even pass it on to another Communist on orders of the Soviet foreign office. But once he turns anti-Communist, the doors of the capitalist foundations are closed to him. As he rather quaintly put it:

"It is my impression that I had to pierce not one iron curtain when I escaped from the Soviet Union, but actually two iron curtains, and I am still piercing thru this iron curtain which exists even in this country around some of the American organizations."

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FOR PATRIOTISM, GO WEST

The report of the House special committee which investigated the operations of philanthropic foundations made the unusual recommendation that the trustees and staff members of these organizations be recruited more generally in the future from "west of the Hudson river." No such recommendation would have been in order if most of these officers were not now representative of eastern seaboard influences.

The House committee found that some foundations were of strongly internationalist persuasion and that others had been much too sympathetic or much too gullible when it came to handing out grants to Communists and Soviet sympathizers. There was evidence of attempted Communist infiltration of the office staffs of foundations, sometimes with success, as when Alger Hiss achieved the presidency of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

What the committee is saying is that foundations, many of them possessing vast financial resources, and protected by tax exemptions not available to other organizations or individuals, are capable of exercising such a powerful influence for good or ill in the nation's life that their direction must be entrusted to persons of unquestioned patriotism and discretion. The committee felt that, as now constituted, this direction reflects a lopsided eastern internationalist complexion, and that a balance must be restored.

When the report urged the foundations to go west of the Hudson for new blood, it expressed its belief that those resources of sanity and patriotism long identified with the old Northwest territory would offset some of the more frenetic political and internationalist impulses of the eastern seaboard.

The least that can be said is that such reform is long overdue. We believe that the committee may have erred in perspective when it centered its inquiry upon provable radical influence within the foundations instead of examining the larger purposes of most of these groups. The late Charles A. Beard, a celebrated historian, offered a classic description of these well-heeled outfits, and the tenor of his observations is that they provide leadership for the America Last lodge.

Mr. Beard said that the foundations, thru subsidies, were able to reach into the faculties of universities and schools and to encourage the propaganda emanating from a wide variety of forums of international relations and foreign affairs to give constant assistance to the doctrine of executive supremacy and to preach the duty and desirability of American intermeddling abroad. Mr. Beard warned that this doctrine of limitless executive power to conduct foreign affairs and initiate war at will was not consonant with the retention of liberty in the long run in domestic affairs. It was totalitarian in its whole effect.

The sooner the internationalist clutch on the foundations is loosened the sooner the United States may expect some more visible benefit from these agencies which enjoy unique privileges and immunities. As they

Use of Benevolent Trust Funds, Philanthropies and Eleemosynary Institutions To Implement The programs of Subversive groups

stand, they are auxiliaries of big and omnipotent government, whose outlook they seek to direct toward greater power over the citizen and further foreign military adventures to hasten an imaginary millennium. Maybe a shift in control to the west can improve them to the degree that it minimizes attitudes so long in fashion in the east.

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(RELEASE AT 7:00 P.M. EST)

NEW YORK -- THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION REPORTED IT APPROVED GRANTS TOTALING ABOUT \$2,584,000 DURING THE LAST THREE MONTHS OF 1952.

THE FOUNDATION SAID NEARLY \$1,327,000 MORE WAS APPROPRIATED BY THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD.

DEAN RUSK, PRESIDENT OF THE FOUNDATION AND BOARD, SAID IN HIS FOURTH QUARTERLY REPORT FOR 1952 THAT THE LARGEST GRANT -- \$500,000-- WAS MADE BY THE FOUNDATION TO THE MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY FOR RESEARCH IN BIOLOGY.

A GRANT OF \$225,000 WAS GIVEN TO THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON, FOR A THREE-YEAR PROGRAM OF RESEARCH AND EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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Re: CONGRESSIONAL
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An Honest Quest for Reds

Investigation of Foundations Conducted Without Witch-Hunting

By MELVIN K. WHITELEATHER

A special committee of the House of Representatives has given the country a wholesome reminder: Congress can conduct a fair investigation of an explosive subject.

It has been some time since we have had a demonstration of the sort the late Representative E. E. Cox, of Georgia, and Representative Brooks Hays, of Arkansas, put on when they looked into the matter of Communist infiltration in philanthropic tax-exempt foundations, of which there are 30,000.

Their report is now available, and a reading of it gives the definite impression that the committee in its six months of work sought to get at the facts without preconceived notions, and to report them honestly. During the hearings, none of the committee members tried to exploit the Communist issue for personal political aggrandizement.

The findings were that Communists had tried systematically to infiltrate and control such foundations, but with the exception of a few small ones, the effort had been singularly unsuccessful.

"Here and there," the report said, "a foundation board included a Communist or a Communist sympathizer. Occasionally a Communist managed to secure a position on a staff of a foundation, or a staff member was drawn into the Communist orbit." Some grants had been given, too, to "malodorous individuals" (whatever that may mean), but such persons got them almost entirely in a period when the political and emotional climate of the country was far different from what it is today. Foundations giving direct aid to individuals, the committee reported, were more vulnerable than others because "many individuals of unusual talent ... are

often nonconformists." But when measured by the total number of grants made, Communists and sympathizers were "surprisingly" few.

Foundations whose boards had not been as strict as they might have been were not accused of being subversive; their blame lay in "mistakes" which the committee said it believed made them guilty of no more than "indulging in the same gullibility which infected far too many of our loyal and patriotic citizens."

This is a balanced view that is a far cry from the attempts that have been made by some congressional committees to give the public the impression that our society is infested to the core.

Committee counsels have a great deal to do with what happens in these investigations, for they direct the actual groundwork, take the lead in questioning witnesses, and write the reports. Unfortunately, like all too many of the Congressmen who sit on these committees, the primary interest of the young lawyers who do the counsel work is to get their names into headlines. The Cox-Hays committee, however, sought a counsel who was an outstanding exception. He, Harold M. Keele, of Chicago, took the job on condition that there would be no witch hunting and no publicity-seeking.

Because of the vast difference between a trial and an investigation hearing, witnesses are not permitted to cross-examine. But committee counsel have been taking advantage of this privileged position to act like prosecuting attorneys, and thus put the most innocent of witnesses in a bad light because he can't answer back properly. Mr. Keele didn't do this. It's a pity he won't be asked to conduct the forthcoming investigation into schools and colleges. He isn't of the McCarthy-McCarran tradition.

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Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Clegg	
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Mr. Nease	
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*By the author
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Foundation Probers To Quiz Rockefeller On Eisler Music Grant

The House special committee investigating tax-exempt foundations, planned to ask Rockefeller Foundation officials today about money grants to the Institute of Pacific Relations and Hans Eisler.

Dean Rusk, former Assistant Secretary of State, who heads the foundation, and John D. Rockefeller III were the principal scheduled witnesses as the committee continued hearings after testimony yesterday by Alfred P. Sloan, Jr.

Mr. Sloan, chairman of the board of directors of General Motors Corp. and president of the \$30 million Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, predicted that Government or big business eventually will have to take over financing of great philanthropic foundations unless tax rates and living costs go down.

Question Music Grant.

In line with its main purpose to determine whether any tax-exempt foundations supported subversive activities, the committee headed by Representative Cox, Democrat, of Georgia, sought an explanation today for Rockefeller Foundation grants for music studies of Hans Eisler, brother of Gerhardt Eisler. Gerhardt Eisler is the Communist leader who jumped bail on a contempt of Congress charge and fled to the Soviet zone in Germany.

The committee also planned to ask about Rockefeller Foundation grants to Owen Lattimore, Johns Hopkins University professor. Mr. Lattimore, who was associated with IPR, is currently under inquiry by a Federal grand jury for possible perjury before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Mr. Rusk told the committee late yesterday that the Rockefeller Foundation refuses to give money to groups or applicants cited by the Attorney General as subversive. He declared that such foundations are essential to human progress and that their place could not be taken by the Government.

"I think the trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation can make better decisions than some of the bureaucrats I am familiar with," he said.

Defends Purpose and Work.

Mr. Sloan also defended the purpose and work of foundations. They aim at strengthening, not weakening, the capitalistic system, he explained.

"One of the outstanding needs," he said, "is the development of basic knowledge. This can best be done in the Nation's universities. Business should step up and take a broader position in supporting universities."

He added that he has recommended that General Motors begin such a practice.

Present tax rates and living costs, he declared, tend to prevent creation of family fortunes which might finance philanthropic foundations. Mr. Sloan went on to say that within 15 years there might be no family fortunes adequate for such financing. That would put the problem mainly up to Government and business, he said. Mr. Sloan said he would much rather see business do it.

Urges Contributions Anyway.

In response to committee members' question as to whether lower tax rates would stimulate corporation contributions to foundations, Mr. Sloan replied: "This ought to be done irrespective of the tax rates."

Mr. Sloan and Mr. Rusk defended the varied and far-reaching work done through the aid of philanthropic foundations. Some of the projects may seem impractical to the layman, but they could lead to vast advances in human progress, they said. Mr. Rusk was asked about an application by Karl Von Frisch, a scientist, who wanted to determine whether bees talk to each other in "dialect."

"It may seem amusing to study a honey bee with a Southern accent," Mr. Rusk said, "but you can never tell where it will lead in the great pattern of communications research."

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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds, Philanthropies and Eleemosynary Institutions To Implement The programs of Subversive Groups

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Two More Deny Charges By Budenz

By the Associated Press

Vehement denials already have come from several persons among the 30 scholars and officials of leading educational foundations named by Louis Budenz Tuesday as members of the Communist Party.

Budenz is the former managing editor of the Daily Worker, Communist paper published in New York, who publicly renounced communism in 1945 and is now on the staff of Fordham University. He testified before a House committee which is trying to determine whether the funds of tax-free foundations are being used for subversive activities.

In his appearance Tuesday, he ticked off 30 persons—some of them well known—as being Communist Party members before he quit in 1945.

Many of them had been described as Communists before, and some had denied it. Other denials yesterday included that of Corliss Lamont, a lecturer in philosophy at Columbia University. He said:

"Testimony by Louis F. Budenz before a House investigating committee yesterday that I was a Rockefeller Foundation fellow or received a grant from the foundation is absolutely untrue. Further newspaper reports alleging that I received a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation are equally absurd, as is the statement that I was once a member of the Communist Party.

It is outrageous that the committee gave me no opportunity to confront my accuser and answer his false accusations."

Cary McWilliams, also named by Budenz as having been a member of the Communist Party, also issued a denial. He said:

"This statement is categorically false. I have never been a member of the Communist Party."

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Budenz Report 30 Communists In Foundations

Asserts Those He Accuses
Received Fellowships or
Were Officials of Funds

By David McConnell

WASHINGTON, Dec. 23.—Louis F. Budenz, former editor of the Communist "Daily Worker," testified today that thirty recipients of fellowships or officials of tax-free foundations were Communist party members and estimated that 90 per cent of those who sponsor Communist-front organizations are members of the subversive party.

Mr. Budenz was the final witness before a special House committee seeking to determine whether funds awarded by educational foundations have been used to promote Communist activities. He testified that during his membership in the Communist party, from 1935 to 1945, the Communists actively sought to block fellowship grants to those opposed to the "party line" and attempted to obtain backing for party members who could be depended upon to promote subversive activities.

Says Far East Was Stressed

Considerable stress always was placed on promoting Communist policies for the Far East and China, Mr. Budenz, who left the party and became a Fordham University professor, told the committee. He said the Communists organized a subcommittee of the party's Cultural Commission to penetrate educational foundations. This penetration was undertaken in the late 1920s, he said, on orders from Moscow in an effort to channel foundation funds into pro-Communist causes.

During his testimony Mr. Budenz said that a person could innocently join one or two Communist-front organizations, but he added: "If he joins five, ten or fifteen, or up to sixty, as some have, that certainly is proof that he is a Communist."

Under examination he said that, of the thirty beneficiaries of funds from foundations, seven were classed while he was a member of the party as "concealed members." He explained that they carried no party cards and held no evidence of membership. The seven, he testified, were:

Dr. Linus Pauling, atomic physicist and member of the advisory board that selected fellowships for the Guggenheim Foundation; Mary Van Kleeck, employee of the Russell Sage Foundation; Frederick Vanderbilt Field, associated with the American People's Fund; the late Louis S. Weiss, a trustee of the Marshall Field Fund; Doxie Wilkerson and Dr. Ira Reid, members of the Rockefeller Foundations' General Education Board, and Louis Bransten, formerly of the Rosenwald Fund.

Lists Other Beneficiaries

Others received grants or fellowships from the same foundations, according to Mr. Budenz. He labeled as Communists the following:

Receiving Guggenheim fellowships: Langston Hughes, Alva Besie, Jack Conroy, Carey McWilliams, Bernard Reiss, Earl Robinson, Isadore Schneider, Maxwell Stewart, Richard Wright and the late Genevieve Taggard.

Receiving Rosenwald grants: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Claude McKay, Clark Forman, Shirley Graham, Pearl Primus, Thomas I. Emerson and John K. Fairbank.

Mr. Budenz said that Russell Sage Foundation grants went to Corliss Lamont and Dr. Oscar Lange, former Polish Ambassador to the United States, while Communist party members who received Rockefeller grants included Hans Eisler, Dr. Walter Gelhorn, Lawrence K. Rossinger and Thomas A. Biron.

Mr. Budenz said his identification of the foundation fellows as Communists was made from personal knowledge, from official Communist party reports or from information received from superior functionaries of the party.

Swore He Was Not a Red

In New York, the offices of the Guggenheim Foundation said yesterday that Dr. Pauling is a member of the advisory board of the foundation and that he has written the secretary that he states under oath he is not and never was a Communist. The foundation said Dr. Pauling is at California Institute of Technology.

Maxwell Hahn, executive vice-president of the Field Foundation, said that Frederick Vanderbilt Field is not connected with the Field Foundation Inc. and never has had any connection or association of any sort with Field Foundation. "Marshall Field, president of the Field Foundation, since its founding in 1940, is not related to Frederick Vanderbilt Field and has never met the man," he said. "Neither is any other member of the advisory board or staff to my knowledge."

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Louis S. Weiss was secretary and a member of the board until his death Nov. 13, 1950, Mr. Hahn said. At that time the foundation stated in a tribute published in the foundation's annual report, that "his sympathies for the oppressed, his passion for justice and his faith in American democracy were the touchstones of his entire life." Mr. Hahn said the statement that Mr. Weiss was a Communist "is completely untrue and without foundation in fact."

Calls Budenz "Dreaming"

Mr. Emerson said in New Haven that Mr. Budenz was "dreaming up things" when he named him as a former Communist party member. He said he had "never been a member of the party and could not possibly have been listed as a member on their records." Mr. Budenz, Mr. Emerson said, was "being highly inconsistent with what he has said about me before. In a book he recently

wrote, he called me a 'dupe' of the Communists."

Dr. Donald Young, general director of the Russell Sage Foundation, said that neither Ambassador Lange nor Mr. Lamont ever had any connection with the organization. Dr. Young said they could not have been fellows, as Mr. Budenz listed them, because the Sage Foundation never has had any fellowship system.

As for Miss Van Kleeck, Dr. Young pointed out that on Dec. 3 he testified that she was employed by the foundation from 1911 until she retired in 1948, but was a research worker and not in a position to make policy decisions.

Dr. Walter Gellhorn issued a statement from Columbia University in which he said: "If Budenz said that I have even been a Communist, his statement is absolutely and unqualifiedly false. I am not and never have been a Communist of any description whatever."

Budenz Lists 30 'Filtrators'

WASHINGTON, Dec. 23 (UP).—Former Communist Louis F. Budenz today said Reds wormed their way into tax exempt foundations in the late 1920s on direct orders from Moscow to channel funds to pro-Communist causes.

He named 30 educators connected with such U. S. foundations who he swore were active or "concealed" party members.

Budenz, Fordham University professor and one-time editor of the Communist Daily Worker, testified before a special House committee which is trying to determine whether any foundation funds were used for "subversive" activities.

He said seven of the party members he named became trustees, officers or employees of six foundations, and the other 23 obtained grants from five foundations.

Names Physicist

Among those he named were Dr. Linus Pauling, atomic physicist; Profs. Corliss Lamont and Bernard Reiss; millionaire Frederick Vanderbilt Field, and Dr. Oscar Lange, one-time Polish ambassador to this country.

Budenz said the seven persons he named who were active in foundations were "concealed party members." He said they had no party cards or "any other vestige of membership," but made contributions to the party. These payments were not recorded as dues, he said.

He identified these as Pauling, a member of the advisory board that selected fellowship recipients for the Guggenheim Foundation; Mary Van Kleeck, an employee of the Russell Sage Foundation; Field, who headed his own "American People's Fund;" Louis S. Weiss, a trustee of the Marshall Field Fund; Doxie Wilkerson and Dr. Ira

TALKING ABOUT REDS



LOUIS BUDENZ
Swears to 30 Red companions.
(International SOUND photo)

Reid, members of the general education board of the Rockefeller Foundation, and Louise Branstetter of the Rosenwald Fund.

Party members who received Guggenheim fellowships, he said, were Langston Hughes, Alva Bessie, Jack Conroy, Carey McWilliams, Reiss, Earl Robinson, Isadore Schneider, Maxwell Stewart, Richard Wright and the late Genevieve Taggard.

He said Rosenwald grants went to W. E. B. Duboise, Claude McKay, Clark Forman, Shirley Graham, Pearl Primus, Thomas J. Emerson and John Fairbanks. Lange and Lamont received grants from the Russell Sage Foundation, he testified, while Rockefeller grants went to Hanns Eisler, Dr. Walter Gelhorn, Lawrence K. Rossinger and Thomas A. Bison.

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Budenz said that in any case he knew the person was a Communist either "from his personal knowledge or from official reports or statements from my superior functionaries — Eugene Dennis and Jack Stachel."

Dennis and Stachel were among 15 Communist leaders imprisoned for advocating violent overthrow of the Government.

Special Group

Budenz told the committee American Communists, on direct orders from the Politburo in Moscow, set up a special commission to infiltrate foundations. He said the object was to "get concealed Communists in foundations to obtain grants for pre-Communists on matters the Communists wanted to advance."

For the committee, he defined a Communist front organization as "those organized and under Communist Party control all during their operations." He said these are composed of 90 percent "concealed Communists" while

Continued on Page 10.

Budenz Names 30 'Infiltrators'

Continued on Page 16

the other 10 percent gives the fronts an "air of distinction."

He expressed the belief that anyone who belongs to five or more front organizations undoubtedly is a "concealed Communist." If they belong to less, he said, they "may have been deceived."

In New York the offices of the Guggenheim Foundation said Dr. Pauling is a member of the advisory board of the foundation, and that he has written the secretary that he stated, under oath he is not and never was a Communist. The foundation said Dr. Pauling is at the California Institute of Technology.

Maxwell Hahn, executive vice-president of the Field Foundation, said in New York that Marshall Field, president of the foundation, has never met Frederick Vanderbilt Field, and "so far as I know no one connected with the foundation has."

Hahn said Louis S. Weiss was a member of the board and secretary of the foundation. He died Nov. 13, 1950, Hahn said, and no one at the foundation has any knowledge that he ever engaged in any subversive activity.

Emerson said in New Haven that Budenz was "dreaming up things" when he named him a former Communist Party member.

He said he had "never been a member of the party and could not possibly have been listed as a member on their records."

Budenz, Emerson said, was "being highly inconsistent with what he has said about me before. In a book he recently wrote, he called me a 'dupe' of the Communists."

Charging that Budenz was "now dreaming up things to keep himself going," Emerson asked a reporter:

"If he really believed that I was a member of the party, why didn't he say so two years ago when he wrote his book?"

Dr. Donald Young, general director of the Russell Sage Foundation, said in New York that neither Lange nor Lamont ever had any connection with the organization.

Budenz listed them as fellows, but Dr. Young said they couldn't have been because the Sage Foundation never has had any fellowship system.

As for Miss Van Kleeck, Young pointed out that on Dec. 3 he appeared before the special House Committee and admitted that she was employed by the return in 1948.

Budenz Calls Foundations Prey of Reds

**Communists Told
To Get or Block
Grants, House
Committee Hears**

By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

Former Communist Louis F. Budenz swore yesterday that 30 persons who received research grants from tax-exempt foundations or who helped dispense such grants were either Communist cardholders or under Communist "discipline."

Most of those cited were scholars or scientists previously accused of Communist activities by Budenz or other former Communists. Budenz mentioned several new names, however, which brought immediate denials.

Budenz, a Communist official from 1935 to 1945, told a House committee that the Communist Party's Cultural Commission had a special subcommittee which sought to obtain foundation grants for Communists, and block them for anti-Communists.

He said a high Communist once told him: "We are using the capitalist money to destroy capitalism."

The Communists did "express satisfaction" with their efforts to get foundation money, Budenz added. But Budenz said he did not in any way want to imply that the Communists had "control of the foundations." Previous testimony has shown that grants to alleged Communists and pro-Communists amounted to very small proportions of all foundation grants.

Budenz, a former managing editor of the Communist Daily Worker, is now a professor at Fordham University. One of the most vocal and controversial former Communists, he is a frequent witness at hearings and court trials.

His testimony yesterday was given to the special House committee, headed by Rep. E. Eugene Cox (D-Ga.), which is probing possible subversive activities in the foundation field.

Cox has been absent from most of the hearings because of ill health and Rep. Brooks Hays (D-Ark.), acting chairman, said that yesterday's session was expected to be the last of the hearings, which began on November 18. The committee must file a report by January 1.

Spokesmen for the foundations have themselves cited many of the names mentioned by Budenz. Because of the "venture capital" nature of foundation grants, the officials said, it is impossible to avoid all risk in making research grants. Many of the charges that recipients of grants were Communists arose years after the grants were made.

Through a lack of detailed information, some of the names Budenz gave yesterday were associated in some press reports with the wrong foundation. That resulted late yesterday in some of the foundations issuing denials of charges which were not actually made.

Budenz said he had two ways of knowing that the persons he

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COX—From Page 1

Budenz Says Reds Were Told To Influence Award of Grants

named were Communists—through "personal knowledge" and from "official communications" of the Communist Party.

He said he was "officially advised" that Dr. Linus Pauling, atomic scientist who was identified as a member of a board which considers Guggenheim Foundation fellowships, was a Communist.

Charges Denied

In Pasadena, Calif., Dr. Pauling said: "This statement is a lie. I have never been a member of the Communist Party, and I have sworn to this fact."

Dr. Pauling added, "earlier statements made by him have caused me to suspect that he is a liar. Now I know that he is a liar—a professional liar."

"It is disgraceful that a committee of the United States Congress should permit and even aid such a scurvy, unconscionable person to cause trouble for respectable people."

"If Budenz is not prosecuted for perjury, we must conclude that our courts and congressional committees are not interested in learning and disclosing the truth."

Dr. Pauling is professor of chemistry and chairman of the division of chemistry and chemical engineering at California Institute of Technology.

Budenz said he knew "from repeated official communications" that Professor Thomas I. Emerson, of the Yale Law School faculty, who received a Guggenheim grant, "was a member of the Communist Party."

In New Haven, Emerson said Budenz was "dreaming up things." Emerson added: "I have never been a member of the (Communist) party and could not possibly have been listed as a member on their records."

Budenz listed about 11 other persons as "Communists" who received Guggenheim grants. Other Communists, he said, received grants or benefited from grants through the Rockefeller Foundation, the Rosenwald Fund, the Rosenberg Fund of California, and other groups.

Dr. Walter Gellhorn of Columbia University, who worked on a project aided by Rockefeller money, was another Communist, said Budenz.

At Columbia University, Dr. Gellhorn said:

"If Budenz said that I have ever been a Communist, his statement is absolutely and unqualifiedly false. I am not and never have been a Communist of any description whatever."

Budenz testified that the late Louis S. Weiss was also a member of the Communist Party.

Others Named

In New York, Maxwell Hahn, executive vice president of the

Marshall Field Foundation, said Weiss, who had died in 1930, had been a member of the foundation board and its secretary. No one at the foundation, said Hahn, "has any knowledge that he (Weiss) ever engaged in any subversive activity."

Budenz said under questioning by Committee Counsel Harold M. Keele, that Doxie Wilkerson is "so conspicuous as a Communist that I almost hesitate to name him . . ." Wilkerson and Dr. Ira Reid, whom Budenz also called a Communist, received grants from the General Education Board, which is supported by Rockefeller money, the committee said.

Others whom he said he knew to be Communists and who received grants from various foundations, Budenz testified, were Dr. Oscar Lange, former Polish ambassador to the United States; Writer Maxwell Stewart; Cary McWilliams; Clark Foreman; Lawrence K. Rossinger and Thomas A. Bisson, specialists on Far East affairs; and John K. Fairbank, a Harvard University professor. Fairbank, who flatly denied a similar accusation by Budenz in the past before a Senate subcommittee, recently was cleared by the Army to go to Japan on a Guggenheim Fellowship.

In addition to providing the extensive list of alleged Communists to the committee, Budenz went further than he has ever gone before publicly in giving his opinion on how to distinguish Communists from innocent members of Communist "fronts."

After first stating that a Communist "front" is actually a group created by the Communists, as distinguished from others, they have "captured," Budenz went on to say:

"Ninety percent of the persons who lend their names as sponsors of Communist fronts are concealed Communists."

"If a person joins one or two fronts he may be deceived . . . but if he joins 5, 10, 15 or up to 60 or 70 Communist fronts . . . that proves he is a Communist."

Budenz Testifies Reds Attempted to Influence Foundation Grants

Funds Sought to Aid Their Cause; 30 Named As Taking Part in Drive

By James E. Roper

Louis Budenz, the reformed Communist, said today that the Communist Party made an organized attempt between 1935 and 1945 to penetrate charitable foundations and use their funds to help the Red cause.

Mr. Budenz named 30 persons he said were Communists who have received grants or working for foundations, influenced the granting of funds to Red sympathizers.

Mr. Budenz testified before a Special House Committee as it concluded a month of hearings on Communist influences on tax-exempt foundations.

He was a member of the Communist Party from 1935 to 1945 when he resigned, he explained today "to return to the Catholic Church." He now teaches at Fordham University and Seton Hall College. He testified that, as managing editor of the Communist New York Daily Worker, he knew many Americans who were under Communist discipline, although not listed anywhere as members of the party.

Unlisted Group Valuable.

These unregistered Communists, he said, were considered more valuable than regular party members. They were especially useful, he said, to a special subcommission of the Communist Party's Cultural Commission.

Mr. Budenz said the subcommission was set up to penetrate charitable foundations, encouraging them to grant funds for work in fields that interested the Reds, especially China and the rest of the Far East, and Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia. The subcommission, he said, also sought to block grants to anti-Communists. He said the subcommission reported regularly to the Soviet Politburo, frequently expressing satisfaction with progress made.

Mr. Budenz said that Alexander Trachtenburg, a leader in this work, once suggested that he was using capitalistic funds to destroy capitalism.

Three Were Main Target.

Chief target of the subcommission, Mr. Budenz said, were the Carnegie, Rockefeller and Guggen-

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Foundations

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heim Foundations. The Reds never hoped to control the funds, but merely wished to influence certain grants, Mr. Budenz said.

In answering questions from Committee Counsel Charles M. Keele, Mr. Budenz testified that 30 individuals were Communists who received grants or helped make them. All the individuals had been named previously, before congressional committees as Reds.

Among them was Pearl Primus, the dancer who starred at Cafe Society Uptown and Cafe Society Downtown, New York night clubs which Mr. Budenz said had received financial support, when necessary, from the Communist Party. Others included Frederick Vanderbilt Field, the late Louis S. Weiss, a trustee of the Field Foundation, and Dr. Bernard Reiss, formerly of the faculty of Hunter College in New York.

Contribution From Editor.

Mr. Budenz said that as a Daily Worker executive, he received contributions from "concealed Communists," including the editor of a newspaper in a large State. He did not give the editor's name on the ground it was not pertinent to the investigation of the foundations.

Mr. Budenz told a reporter later that the editor he had in mind was not in the East, but still active in the newspaper field and had tried to discredit the work of Mr. Budenz. Mr. Budenz said he did not want to name the editor unless required to do so.

The other ex-Communist testified before the committee yesterday and said Red party policy in 30s was aimed at gaining influence in the philanthropic foundations so the Communists could tap their treasuries.

Maurice Malkin and Manning Johnson of New York, now consultants for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, were the witnesses.

Policy Explained.

Both testified that after 1928, at Moscow's direction, the party made a determined effort to infiltrate the trustees or staffs of funds devoted to charitable purposes.

Mr. Malkin, who said he quit the Communist Party in 1937, said the work was masterminded by the "Agitprop" propaganda unit which later became known as the Cultural Commission.

Mr. Malkin said Communists were aided by the contributions from the Hecksler Foundation, the Marshall Field Fund, the Russell Sage Foundation, the American Fund for Public Service, the Phelps-Stokes Foundation, the Garland Fund and the Robert Marshall Fund.

He also said the Communists succeeded in getting members into the Carnegie and Guggenheim Foundations, but not at the level of the trustees.

Two Ex-Reds Explain Party's Efforts to Get Foundation Grants

By the Associated Press

Two ex-Communists told a House committee yesterday that Red party policy in the thirties was aimed at gaining influence in American philanthropic foundations so the Communists could tap their treasuries.

Maurice Malkin and Manning Johnson of New York, now consultants for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, gave their testimony as the House group continued its inquiry to find out if tax-exempt philanthropic foundations are aiding subversive activities.

Policy Explained.

Both witnesses testified that after 1928, at Moscow's direction, the United States Communist Party made a determined effort to infiltrate the trustees or staffs of funds devoted to charitable purposes.

Mr. Malkin, who said he quit the Communist Party in 1937, said the work was "masterminded" by the "Agitprop" propaganda unit which later became known as the "Cultural Commission."

The aim, the witnesses said, was to influence the foundations to make grants to either Communist fronts or to Communist members who would devote their funds to Red causes.

Mr. Malkin said Communists were aided by the contributions from the Hecksler Foundation, the Marshall Field Fund, the Russell Sage Foundation, the American Fund for Public Service, the Phelps-Stokes Foundation, the Garland Fund and the Robert Marshall Fund.

Infiltration Accomplished.

He also said the Communists succeeded in getting members into the Carnegie and Guggenheim Foundations, but not at the level of the trustees.

Mr. Johnson, who said he became disillusioned with the party in 1940 because it was using Negroes to advance the policies of Soviet Russia, testified he knew Mary Van Kleeck as a member of the party.

She was an employee of the Russell Sage Foundation, he said, "and had quite a few connections which were very good."

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Budenz Testifies Red Attempted to Influence Foundation Grants

Funds Sought to Aid Their Cause; 30 Named As Taking Part in Drive

By James E. Roper

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Mr. Budenz named 30 persons he said were Communists who have received grants or, working for foundations, influenced the granting of funds to Red sympathizers.

Mr. Budenz testified before a Special House Committee as it concluded a month of hearings on Communist influences on tax-exempt foundations.

He was a member of the Communist Party from 1935 to 1945 when he resigned, he explained today "to return to the Catholic Church." He now teaches at Fordham University and Seton Hall College. He testified that, as managing editor of the Communist New York Daily Worker, he knew many Americans who were under Communist discipline, although not listed anywhere as members of the party.

Unlisted Group Valuable

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He said the subcommission reported regularly to the Soviet Politburo, frequently expressing satisfaction with progress made.

Mr. Budenz said that Alexander Trachtenburg, a leader in this work, once suggested that he was using capitalistic funds to destroy capitalism.

Three Were Main Target

Chief target of the subcommission, Mr. Budenz said, were the Carnegie, Rockefeller and Guggen-

(See FOUNDATIONS, Page A-6.)

Foundations

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In answering questions from Committee Counsel Charles M. Keele, Mr. Budenz testified that 30 individuals were Communists who received grants or helped make them. All the individuals had been named previously before congressional committees as Reds.

Among them was Pearl Primus, the dancer who starred at Cafe Society Uptown and Cafe Society Downtown, New York night clubs which Mr. Budenz said had received financial support, when necessary, from the Communist Party. Others included Frederick Vanderbilt Field, the late Louis S. Weiss, a trustee of the Field Foundation, and Dr. Bernard Reiss, formerly of the faculty of Hunter College in New York.

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 Mr. Holloman ☒
 Miss Gandy ☒

Baugh Gardner

(FOUNDATIONS)

NEW YORK--MAXWELL HAN, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE FIELD FOUNDATION, TODAY TERMED "COMPLETELY UNTRUE" THE TESTIMONY BY LOUIS F. BUDENZ THAT FIELD FOUNDATION TRUSTEE LOUIS S. WEISS WAS A COMMUNIST.

"LOUIS S. WEISS FORMERLY WAS A BOARD MEMBER AND SECRETARY OF THE FIELD FOUNDATION," HAN SAID. "MR. WEISS DIED NOV. 13, 1950. AT THAT TIME THE FOUNDATION STATED IN A MEMORIAL PUBLISHED IN THE FOUNDATION'S ANNUAL REPORT: 'HIS SYMPATHIES FOR THE OPPRESSED, HIS PASSION FOR JUSTICE AND HIS FAITH IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY WERE THE TOUCHSTONES OF HIS ENTIRE LIFE."

"THE STATEMENT THAT MR. WEISS WAS A COMMUNIST IS COMPLETELY UNTRUE AND WITHOUT FOUNDATION IN FACT."

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CORRESPONDENTS:

THE COX COMMITTEE ON FOUNDATIONS HAS "CORRECTED" TODAY'S TESTIMONY (214P) TO STRAIGHTEN OUT THE CONNECTION OF PERSONS NAMED BY BUDENZ WITH VARIOUS FOUNDATIONS.

EMERSON, WHO WAS LISTED AS RECEIVING A ROSENWALD GRANT, ACTUALLY RECEIVED IT FROM THE GUGGENHEIM FOUNDATION.

LANGE AND LAMONT RECEIVED GRANTS FROM THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION INSTEAD OF FROM RUSSELL-SAGE.

LOUIS BRANSTEN WAS A TRUSTEE OF THE ROSENBERG FUND OF CALIFORNIA INSTEAD OF THE ROSENWALD FUND.

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

25 Listed As Receiving Cash Grants

BY WILLIAM MOORE

Louis Budenz, former Communist leader who renounced Communism, yesterday identified as Communists 30 persons who have been named in the House investigation of the nation's tax exempt philanthropic foundations.

Of these, 25 have been recipients of foundation funds. Five have had a hand in distributing those funds.

Budenz did not profess to be listing all the Communists who have shared or doled out the funds of the foundations. He merely identified names of persons whose names have popped up in a special House committee's investigation of Communist influence in the foundations.

Budenz said he has made no study of the trustees of the various foundations or the lists of those to whom they made grants.

Proof in Numbers

He riddled assertions that those who join many Communist front organizations are dupes when asked by Harold M. Keele, committee counsel, if such persons are "soft-headed liberals or do-gooders."

"If a person joins five or ten or 15," Budenz said, "or up to 60 or 70 as some do, that certainly is proof that he is a Communist following the Communist line."

Budenz named these persons from the foundations as known to him as Communists when he was a party member:

Marshall Field foundation — Louis S. Weiss, until recently a trustee.

Guggenheim foundation—Linus Pauling, California Institute of Technology scientist who is a member of the advisory board that grants Guggenheim fellowships.

Russell Sage foundation—Mary Van Kleeck, until recently a key employe who was also a trustee of Smith college.

Rosenberg foundation (of California)—Louise Branstel, a trustee whom Budenz termed "one of the angels of the Communist Party."
American People's fund—Frederick Vanderbilt Field, who established the fund.

Recipients Listed

Budenz said the following recipients of grants from the institutions named were Communists:

Guggenheim foundation—Langston Hughes, a poet; Jack Conroy, Carey McWilliams, Alvah Bessie, Earl Robinson, Bernard Reiss, Isadore Schneider, Maxwell Stewart, Prof. Thomas I. Emerson of Yale and Prof. John K. Fairbank of Harvard, Richard Wright (Budenz said he has since left the party), and the late Genevieve Taggard of Sarah Lawrence college.

Rosenwald foundation (founded by the late Julius Rosenwald)—W. E. Dubois, Claude McKay, Clark Foreman, Shirley Graham and Pearl Primus, the dancer.

Rockefeller foundation—Hans Eisler, Walter Gellhorn, Laurence K. Rosinger and Thomas A. Bisson.

General Education board (another Rockefeller fund)—Doxie Wilkerson and Ira D. A. Reid.

Accuses Two Others

Budenz said that two others, previously mentioned as having received grants from foundations, were Communists. They are Dr. Oscar Lange, former University of Chicago professor who renounced his American citizenship to become Polish ambassador to the United States, and Corliss Lamont.

Budenz said the Communist policy is to enlist persons in key positions in American life as "concealed" Communists who are not issued Communist cards so that no documentary proof can be brought against them. But the concealed Communists, he explained, are kept under strictest party discipline and forced to obey party commands.

He emphasized that these concealed Communists, pictured as naive in the political field, are chosen for their intelligence and know precisely what they are doing.

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Use of Benevolent Trust Funds,
Philanthropies and Eleemosynary
Institutions To Implement The
Programs of Subversive groups

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Miss Gandy _____

**Deny Browder's
Son Is Commie**

Dr. Felix Browder, mathematics instructor who received a Guggenheim fellowship yesterday, is the son of former Communist party secretary Earl Browder but has never been a Communist himself, the Guggenheim Foundation said today.

In an announcement clarifying the award of an assistance grant to the younger Browder, the foundation said it had inquired "very carefully" into his political affiliations.

"The investigation showed that Dr. Browder and his wife are registered Democrats," foundation officials said. "Dr. Browder also voluntarily signed an affidavit, now held by the foundation, declaring that he is not now and never has been a member of the Communist party."

Baumgardner

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CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y. N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM & SUN

DATED MAY 26 1953

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

Night Edition

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Success Story

By Murray Kempton

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Sizoo
Miss Gandy

The Guggenheim Foundation yesterday awarded a fellowship to Dr. Felix Browder for a year's "study of the existence and properties of solutions of elliptic partial differential equations."

A Guggenheim is worth a little more than \$3,000; Felix Browder will use his to study a year at the Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton. The foundation did not identify him as the son of Earl Browder, former Secretary General of the Communist Party, and of Raissa Irene Browder, the lawyer he married in Moscow in the '20s.

The Guggenheim Foundation is not abnormally insensitive to the fulminations of the knuckleheads, and it was very careful before giving a grant to the son of Earl and Irene Browder. It searched his record and found no sign that he had ever gone beyond regular registration as a Democrat in Massachusetts. He volunteered to execute an affidavit swearing that he had never been a member of the Communist Party, which the Guggenheim people were very glad to accept.

But he did not propose, as he said, to cut himself off from his parents.

Felix Browder has lived in that kind of fish-bowl ever since he was a schoolboy in Yonkers. It was something of a joke when he was graduated from high school in 1944 with every conceivable honor, including the \$5 Daughters of the American Revolution prize and the American Legion medal for excellence in American history.

He went on to scholarships at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; upon his graduation, he took a degree at Princeton and came back to M.I.T. for two years as an instructor, moving on to Boston U. always without tenure last year.

Dr. Norman Levinson of the M.I.T. department of mathematics, said yesterday that he has known men "who have gotten very good professorships on less than he's got."

His two younger brothers have followed Felix to M.I.T., both on scholarships, both devoted sons.

Earl Browder, both with less than routine interest in politics. Last spring, Harold Velde put Levinson on the stand to ask him about the Brow-

ders; Levinson replied that Felix is one of the best mathematicians in the world.

Andrew Browder will graduate from M.I.T. in June; like Felix, he is a model student, although M.I.T. officials report that his marks weren't quite as glittering as usual this year. They blame that slight decline in part on the fact that his mother has been brought up for deportation and his father for perjury arising out of her original citizenship application.

Earl Browder was married in Moscow in 1926 to a woman described by his enemies as a Russian secret police agent assigned to keep him in line. Felix was born in the Soviet Union. When they came back to the United States, Irene Browder worked as her husband's secretary, and did a very odd thing for a dedicated Bolshevik.

She took her three boys to Yonkers to raise them far from the movement. They knew the father as the comfortable seedy man who taught them chess and whom they called "poppa." When his party's displeasure brought Browder down, the family clung together. Irene Browder watched over her husband as tenderly in adversity as she had in success, guarding his health and wishing like any bourgeois wife that he would not waste so much of himself in politics.

Last February, when two Immigration agents came to arrest her for deportation, Browder stood at his door, old and tired, and barred their entrance. Here in the shadows, there was the sense that Earl Browder loved his children and his wife more than anything else on earth.

The Guggenheim Foundation was still just a little nervous about having recognized Felix Browder's right to equality of opportunity. Its trustees said they were confident that "the American people will agree that Dr. Browder is entitled to have his opportunity for development just as every able and loyal young American is entitled to it." Who can say just when it was that we reached the point where people feel that they have to apologize for the one thing of which they have most reason to be very proud?

Use of Benevolent Trust Funds,
Philanthropies and Eleemosynary
Institutions to Implement the
Programs of Subversive groups

CLIPPING FROM THE

N.Y. POST JUN 20 1953

DATED MAY 26 1953

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*Use of Benevolent Trust Funds
 Philanthropies and Eleemosynary
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 Programs of Subversive Groups*

Son of Earl Browder Gets Guggenheim Grant

By the Associated Press

New York, May 27.—In awarding a fellowship to Dr. Felix Browder, son of former Communist Leader Earl Browder, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation first determined that he is not and never was a Communist, the foundation says.

Dr. Browder, an instructor in mathematics at Boston University, is a registered Democrat.

A statement from the Foundation yesterday said the trustees were confident the American people would agree that Dr. Browder, "as an able and loyal young American," was entitled "to have his opportunity for development."

The statement described the 25-year-old Dr. Browder as a brilliant mathematician. His fellowship, for mathematical studies at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J., was one of 191 awards announced by the foundation Sunday.

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Date: MAY 27 1953

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New Probe In Works By Murrey Marder

Reece Aims at Foundations Again

A wide-open investigation of the spread of "left-wing ideologies" by tax-exempt foundations is proposed in a resolution which is likely to come up for House debate this week.

If approved, it would extend in a far more sweeping manner the foundation investigation which was made last year by another special committee.

The report on the last inquiry found that the foundations, led by those which bear such names as Rockefeller, Carnegie and Guggenheim, are making a "vital" contribution to America, despite that fact that some of their grants were misdirected to persons later found to be Communists or pro-Communists.

That finding is disputed by the author of the present resolution, Rep. B. Carroll Reece (R-Tenn.). Reece is a veteran conservative in the Taft wing of the GOP, and a former Republican National Committee chairman.

Reece was a member of the previous foundation investigating committee, but said he attended almost none of its meetings because of illness in his family.

He says that investigation, which was authorized April 4, 1952, and concluded January 1, of this year, was insufficient for the job required.

Reece also states, in effect, that the earlier investigation was too "soft." His new one was proposed last April and on July 13, with no hearings and little public attention, it was approved by the House Rules Committee, of which Reece is a member.

The scope of investigation is exceptionally broad. Without defining the terms, it calls for a five-member committee to determine which foundations "are using their resources for Un-American and subversive activities; for political purposes; propaganda, or attempts to influence legislation."

Reece stated his specific aim in an interview.

He said his concern is "not so much subversion as it is the extent to which the money of tax-exempt foundations is used for propaganda and to influence public opinion for the support of certain types of ideologies that tend to the left."

"More and more, the wealth of America is going into the tax-exempt foundations," said Reece, and "relatively few of them tend to the right."

He said he expects the resolution to come up for debate this week.

House Majority Leader Charles A. Halleck (Ind.) said the bill may be worked into the schedule this week. Asked if there is an Administration attitude on it, Halleck said he has heard nothing about it from Republican leaders.

Some Democrats are known to be highly concerned about the proposed inquiry, and believe it would go far beyond any proper field of congressional investigation. The bill is likely to face strong opposition among both parties. As a practical matter, the foundations themselves probably contain more Republicans as officials and trustees than they do Democrats. Many of these individuals were personally active in President Eisenhower's campaign.

When he presented his resolution in April, Reece contended that the findings of the last investigation were "incomplete" and "badly misinterpreted."

He said the foundations involved regard the report as a complete exoneration of their admitted mistakes in supporting subversive and communistic enterprises. . . .

They view it, he claimed, as a charter not only to continue these activities but to go even further into a campaign to discredit and challenge the investigating process of Congress in its effort to ferret out subversive activities."

Reece said the committee "failed to use much of the documentary evidence that was in its possession. Much of this evidence indicated subversive and un-American propaganda activi-

ties . . . as well as outright political activities . . ."

He said the "all-important question" of employing "propaganda . . . and direct or indirect influence over legislation . . . was completely ignored . . ."

"The law now states," said Reece, "that because of the legal exemption from income tax enjoyed by these groups they cannot undertake to support enterprises carrying on propaganda or attempting to influence legislation."

Last year's foundation investigation turned out to be a far quieter inquiry than originally anticipated. The reason was that it was up against strong opposition at the outset which resulted in the hiring of a temperate counsel, Harold M. Keele, a Chicago Republican, who was able to obtain the cooperation of the foundations themselves in the study.

Keele incurred the displeasure of one or two of his own staff members who privately protested that he was failing to capitalize sufficiently on the evidence. But the report held that when viewed in proportion, the grants that went to Communists and pro-Communists, were "surprisingly small." It highly praised foundation aims.

Reece was asked on Friday for comment on reports that if the new investigation is authorized, he plans to hire as an investigator Robert B. Barker. Barker last spring was fired by the House un-American Activities Committee for giving false information to Chairman Harold E. Meyer. Reece, who has befriended Barker, later inserted a statement from Barker in the Congressional Record.

Reece said, "I have no suggestions to that effect" on hiring Barker for the new inquiry. Asked if there were any likelihood he might hire him, Reece said it would be "presumptuous" to make any comment on a staff before the House acted on the resolution.

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Date: JUL 20 1953

Use of Benevolent Trust
Funds, Philanthropies and
Charitable Institutions
to Implement the Program
of Subversive Groups

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Mr. Tolson
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 Mr. Belmont
 Mr. Glavin
 Mr. Harbo
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Tamm
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 Mr. Winterrowd
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 Mr. Holloman
 Miss Gandy

*For Bureau
 Trust Funds*

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(FOUNDATIONS)

A SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE OPENED HEARINGS TODAY TO FIND OUT WHETHER TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS ARE HELPING UN-AMERICAN OR SUBVERSIVE CAUSES. CHAIRMAN B. CARROLL REECE (R-TENN.) SAID "THERE HAVE BEEN INDICATIONS THAT FOUNDATIONS HAVE NOT AT ALL TIMES ACTED TO THE BEST INTERESTS OF OUR PEOPLE."

HE SAID THEY HAVE MADE "SERIOUS ERRORS," NOT ALWAYS INTENTIONAL, BUT WHICH HAVE BEEN "OFTEN FATEFUL." HE SAID THE INVESTIGATION WILL LOOK PARTICULARLY INTO ROCKEFELLER, FORD AND CARNEGIE FOUNDATIONS.

THE REECE COMMITTEE WAS SET UP LAST FALL WITH \$50,000. RECENTLY IT ASKED FOR MORE MONEY AND GOT ANOTHER \$65,000. PREVIOUSLY THERE HAVE BEEN NO ANNOUNCEMENTS OF ITS ACTIVITIES, EXCEPT A BRIEF STATEMENT LAST WEEK THAT HEARINGS WOULD OPEN TODAY.

A SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE HEADED BY THE LATE E. EUGENE COX (D-GA.) MADE A SIMILAR INVESTIGATION IN 1952.

NORMAN DODD, COMMITTEE RESEARCH DIRECTOR AND FIRST WITNESS BEFORE THE REECE GROUP, SAID THAT THE COX COMMITTEE HAD BEEN CRITICIZED FOR NOT DOING A THOROUGH JOB.

DODD LISTED EIGHT SPECIFIC CRITICISMS OF THE COX COMMITTEE INCLUDING A CHARGE THAT "EXCUSES FOR GRANTS TO COMMUNISTS WERE TOO READILY ACCEPTED."

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*File - Benevolent
 Trust Funds etc.*

*W. C. Williams
 C. Williams
 D. Williams*

(FOUNDATIONS)

A SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS IS CHECKING UP ON THE CONTROVERSIAL WEEKLY TELEVISION SHOW "FACTS FORUM."

COMMITTEE COUNSEL RENE A. WORMSER REVEALED DURING A HEARING TODAY THAT THE TAX RETURNS OF THE "FACTS FORUM" HAVE BEEN OBTAINED BY THE COMMITTEE FROM THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE. (TAX EXEMPT GROUPS MUST FILE TAX RETURNS TO SUBSTANTIATE THEIR CLAIM FOR EXEMPTION.).

WORMSER TOLD ABOUT THE TAX RETURNS WHEN REP. WAYNE L. HAYS (D-O.) DEMANDED THAT THE COMMITTEE LOOK INTO "FACTS FORUM" WHICH SOME DEMOCRATS HAVE CHARGED IS FINANCED BY TEXAS MILLIONAIRE H. L. HUNT TO PROMOTE HIS OWN IDEAS AND TO HELP SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY. SPONSORS OF THE SHOW CLAIM IT IS EDUCATIONAL AND IMPARTIAL.

HAYS OBJECTED TO TESTIMONY OF THE COMMITTEE RESEARCH DIRECTOR NORMAN DODD OUTLINING WHAT DODD BELIEVED THE COMMITTEE SHOULD INVESTIGATE. HE CLAIMED THAT TAX-FREE FOUNDATIONS LIKE FORD, CARNEGIE AND ROCKEFELLER HAD HELPED PROMOTE "IDEAS AND PRACTICES INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION."

HAYS DEMANDED TO KNOW UPON WHAT DODD BASED HIS CLAIMS. DODD SAID WORMSER WOULD BRING OUT THE EVIDENCE LATER.

WORMSER SAID HE WOULD SHOW THAT THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION "VERY CONSCIOUSLY PRODUCED A PROPAGANDA MACHINE."

HAYS COUNTERED WITH A DEMAND THAT "FACTS FORUM" BE INVESTIGATED. "THAT IS NOT ONLY A PROPAGANDA MACHINE," HAYS DECLARED. "BUT PUTS MONEY IN TO DEFEAT PEOPLE LIKE ME FOR CONGRESS. THAT'S BAD PROPAGANDA." HE ADDED, AMID LAUGHTER. HAYS CLAIMED "FACTS FORUM" GAVE A "BIASED" PRESENTATION.

CHAIRMAN B. CARROLL REECE (R-TENN.) SAID THAT IF ANY TAX-FREE GROUP "CONTRIBUTES MONEY FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES IT SHOULD BE BROUGHT OUT." HE SAID "CONTRIBUTES MONEY FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES IT SHOULD BE BROUGHT OUT." HE SAID "FOUNDATIONS GENERALLY" WILL BE INVITED TO TESTIFY, BUT HE MADE NO COMMITMENT ON "FACTS FORUM."

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ADD 1 FOUNDATIONS

HAYS DEMANDED THAT THE COMMITTEE "BRING IN MR. HUNT AND OTHER FACTS FORUM PEOPLE ... AND DEVELOP THIS STORY RIGHT HERE."

WORMSER SAID THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE WAS MAKING A STUDY OF THE TAX STATUS OF "FACTS FORUM." HAYS SAID HE HAD CHECKED LATE LAST WEEK AND THAT THE SERVICE HAD COMPLETED ITS STUDY. HE DID NOT SAY WHAT THE RESULT WAS.

5/11--W01152A

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Facts Forum Included In House Inquiry Into Foundations

A Democratic member of the House committee investigating tax-exempt foundations wants H. L. Hunt, Texas oil millionaire, called for questioning about "Facts Forum."

Representative Hayes, Democrat, of Ohio, made the request after Norman Dodd, committee research director, suggested that the Ford Foundation be looked into with particular care.

Rene A. Wormser, committee counsel, said Facts Forum is included in the organizations under scrutiny. He said the Internal Revenue Service has supplied copies of reports which the organization submitted with its claims for tax exemption.

The committee probably will decide what witnesses to call when it meets again Tuesday.

Cites Public Interest.

Mr. Dodd testified that, on tax-exempt foundations in general, staff studies during the last six months "lead me to the tentative conclusion that, within the social science division of education, the foundations have neglected the public interest to a severe degree. . . . I suggest that the committee give consideration to the tendency of foundation trustees to abdicate responsibility. . . . It seems incredible that the trustees of typically American fortune-created foundations should have permitted them to be used to finance ideas and practices incompatible with the fundamental concepts of our Constitution. Yet there seems evidence that this may have occurred."

Facts Forum Backed in Texas.

Facts Forum, which is financed by Mr. Hunt, is a Dallas, Texas, organization which conducts a TV-radio network panel show, operates a Nation-wide free circulating library, a speakers' bureau, a monthly publication, and contests for essays on political subjects.

Critics have called its broadcasts, which are carried by several hundred radio and TV outlets, "one-sided." Mr. Hunt, however, maintains that Facts Forum is "non-partisan."

Among the Facts Forum ad-

visers are Gen. Robert E. Wood, retired chairman of the board of Sears-Roebuck Co.; movie star John Wayne, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, author-clergyman.

The five-panel special committee headed by Representative Reece, Republican, of Tennessee is trying to determine whether any tax-exempt educational and philanthropic organizations have used unwarranted propaganda, encouraged subversive activities, or neglected "pro-American" purposes. Mr. Dodd, the first witness at open hearings, continued testimony he began yesterday outlining the committee's staff work.

Hays Frequently Interrupts.

Mr. Hays frequently interrupted Mr. Dodd. He demanded an explicit definition of "pro-American." He wanted to know whether in this investigation the term would "mean the ideas of William McKinley, Ulysses S. Grant, and Cohn and Schine."

Although Mr. Dodd reported that the staff is compiling some information about "Facts Forum," Mr. Hays declared the project ought to be explored as thoroughly as the Ford Foundation or any other such organization.

"That outfit," Mr. Hays said, "not only uses propaganda, but tries to defeat Congressmen like me. I know the staff is small and has a lot of work to do. But I'd like to see Mr. Hunt called in. That would satisfy me."

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Date: 5-12-54

60 MAY 21 1954

Probe of Foundations Beset By Committee Fight on Focus

By Edward F. Ryan
Staff Reporter

A tense political dispute with explosive implications for American education and philanthropic activity is being fought out in a House committee investigating tax exempt foundations.

Committee Chairman B. Carroll Reece (R-Tenn.) is undertaking to show that funds of such major foundations as those bearing the names of Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie have been used to buy what he considers as un-American results.

Reece believes that powerful foundations channeled funds to such educational and governmental themes as internationalism, the welfare state, and the 1933 triumph of the New Deal. Those concepts are poison to Reece, and his staff is bending to the task of proving what he believes.

Rep. Wayne L. Hays (D-Ohio) is undertaking to achieve a measure of political balance by seeing that the inquiry focuses attention as well upon organizations like Facts Forum, the public opinion protege of the demi-billionaire Texas oilman, H. L. Hunt.

Hays, a vigorously liberal Democrat, says frankly that for him Facts Forum makes bad propaganda, because it tries "to defeat people like me for Congress."

Battles Over Report

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of his own party as well as Democrats. He headed the Southern drive to capture the GOP presidential nomination for the late Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio, in 1952.

A vitriolic political speaker, Reece argued in 1946 that the Democratic Party was controlled by an alien-minded clique. He charged in 1948 that Communist power had flourished because of conciliation, appeasement, and outright support from the American Government. He declared in early 1952 that the Nation's defenses were in "pitiful shape" because the Democratic Administration gambled with national security largely on the advice of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, who now is President.

Views On Foundations

Reece's political views showed up sharply last year when he told the House why he wanted to investigate the tax exempt foundations. Among other things, he contended:

- The majority of tax-exempt foundations are honestly and efficiently run, and have made a "magnificent contribution to our national life."

- Some of the institutions support efforts to overthrow the American Government and undermine the American way of life.

- Communists and Socialists seize control of fortunes left by capitalists when they die, and turn these fortunes around to finance the destruction of capitalism.

- Large foundations have a tremendous influence on the intellectual and educational life of our country. These foundations... seem to be dedicated to promoting specific views on such matters as the welfare state, the United Nations, American foreign policy, the nature of the American economy.

- Some large foundations must answer questions such as:

1. Have they financed studies regarding the excellence of the American Constitution, the importance of the Declaration of Independence and the profundity of the philosophy of the Founding Fathers?

2. Have they supported the educational programs of veterans' organizations, and if not what is their explanation?

3. Have they supported studies that are critical of the welfare state and socialism, that demonstrate the merits of the competitive private-property system?

4. Have they given grants to active anti-Communists and repentant Communists who have served the United States bravely?

5. And if not, why?

Ford Is Criticized

Reece particularly criticized the Ford Foundation, declaring that failure to investigate it was one of the chief omissions of the Cox committee. He protested the Ford grant of \$5 million dollars for a broad civil

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BAUMGARDNER

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Use of Benevolent
Trusts etc.

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143 MAY 23 1954

Wash. Post and
Times Herald

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N. Y. Herald Tribune

N. Y. Mirror

Date MAY 17 1954

53 MAY 24 1954

Use of Benevolent Trust, Philanthropies +
electronic institutions to influence the
propaganda and public groups

rights inquiry, including a survey of Congressional investigating committees. Such an investigation, said Reece, is "an insult to Congress."

Among other things, Reece blamed the Rockefeller Foundation in part for the loss of China to the Communists, and criticized the Ford Foundation for large grants to "Pro-Communist India."

After the Reece speech of July 27, 1953, the House voted 209 to 163 to let him make his investigation. Following several months of preliminaries, the inquiry last week went into open hearings on a report by Reece's research director, Norman Dodd.

In its major features, the Dodd report turned out to be a relatively mild playback of Reece's own charges, coupled with an emphatic comment that they have not by their repetition as yet been proved.

In an introductory note, Dodd said the vast majority of foundations stand "beyond question in their conformity to the purposes of their founders, and in 'the truly American quality of their consequences.'"

From that admission, Dodd moved on to a sweeping, even though tentative, indictment.

Helped Bring New Deal

Dodd undertook to show that funds of some foundations have been used to finance ideas that are "incompatible" with the fundamental concepts of our Constitution. There is a strong subsidiary theme of disapproval, suggesting that the foundation funds promoted a kind of education that brought about the New Deal "revolution" by an emphasis upon the will of the majority instead of individual freedom.

By over-condensation of the Dodd report the idea can be distilled that the funds of the foundations so educated the electorate that they voted the New Deal into power in 1933 by an overwhelming majority and put Mr. Eisenhower into the White House despite Rep. Reece's best efforts to the contrary. In these terms, the inquiry may help to answer questions that may have bothered Rep. Reece somewhat — why the GOP lost in 1932, and why his own candidate lost the nomination in 1952.

Dodd argued that between 1935 and 1936, this country went through a "revolution."

The fact that it was peaceful, and supported by "an overwhelming majority," Dodd suggests, can be explained only on the ground that "education in the United States had prepared in advance to endorse it."

Practices Explored

Dodd said he directed his staff to look to the foundations for deeper explanations. "I directed the staff to explore foundation practices, educational procedures, and the operations of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government since 1903 for reasonable evidence of a purposeful relationship between them."

He said relationship that had existed continually since the beginning of this 50-year period... evidence of a response to our involvement in international affairs... grants made by foundations (chiefly by Carnegie and Rockefeller) which were used to further this purpose by:

"Directing education in the United States toward an international viewpoint and discrediting the traditions to which it had been dedicated."

"Training individuals and servicing agencies to render advice to the Executive branch of the Federal Government."

"Decreasing the dependency of education upon the resources of the local community and freeing it from many of the natural safeguards inherent in the American tradition."

"Changing both school and college curricula to the point where they sometimes denied the principles underlying the American way of life."

"Financing experiments designed to determine the most effective means by which education could be pressed into service of a political nature."

Using the scientific method, Dodd explained, the staff went on to explore the relationship between foundations, education, and government, and study the development of American education since 1900. Among the organizations covered by this phase of the inquiry were:

The American Council of Learned Societies, the National Research Council, the Social Science Research Council, the American Council on Education, the National Education Association, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Progressive Education Association, the American Historical Association, the John Dewey Society, and the Anti-Defamation League.

Declaring a high degree of cooperation and common interest was found among these organizations, Dodd's report said that "it is difficult to avoid the feeling that... this common interest lies in the planning and control of certain aspects of American life through a combination of the Federal Government and education."

"This may explain why the foundations have played such an active role in the promotion of the social sciences, why they have favored so strongly the employment of social scientists by the Federal Government and why they seem to have used their influence to transform education into an instrument for social change."

Will of the Majority

"In summary, our study of these activities and their relationship to each other seems to warrant the inference that they constitute a highly efficient, functioning whole. Its product is apparently an educational curriculum designed to indoctrinate the American student... it contrasts sharply with the freedom of the individual as the cornerstone of our social structure. For this freedom, it seems to substitute the group, the will of the majority, and a centralized power to enforce this will, presumably in the interest of all."

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"Propaganda Machines"

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Probe of Foundations Beset By Committee Fight on Focus

0-19

By Edward F. Ryan
Staff Reporter

A tense political dispute with explosive implications for American education and philanthropic activity is being fought out in a House committee investigating tax exempt foundations.

Committee Chairman B. Carroll Reece (R-Tenn.) is undertaking to show that funds of such major foundations as those bearing the names of Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie have been used to buy what he considers as un-American results.

Reece believes that powerful foundations "channeled funds to such educational and governmental themes as internationalism, the welfare state, and the 1933 triumph of the New Deal. Those concepts are poison to Reece, and his staff is bending to the task of proving what he believes.

Rep. Wayne L. Hays (D-Ohio) is undertaking to achieve a measure of political balance by seeing that the inquiry focuses attention as well upon organizations like Facts Forum, the public opinion protege of the demi-billionaire Texas oilman, H. L. Hunt.

Hays, a vigorously liberal Democrat, says frankly that for him Facts Forum makes bad propaganda, because it tries "to defeat people like me for Congress."

Battles Over Report

Sharp battles of interpretation are developing around a preliminary report by Reece's research director, setting forth tentative conclusions strenuously challenging the works of the foundations. Two hearings on this report have been held and a third is scheduled for Tuesday. The inquiry is a continuation of one started by the late Rep. E. E. Cox (D-Ga.).

Reece, soft-spoken and scrappy, is a combat hero of World War I, and former chairman of the Republican National Committee. He led the GOP to its capture of Congress in 1946. He fought often with leaders of his own party as well as Democrats. He headed the Southern drive to capture the GOP presidential nomination for the late Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio, in 1952.

A vitriolic political speaker, Reece argued in 1946 that the Democratic Party was controlled by an alien-minded clique. He charged in 1948 that Communist power had flourished because of conciliation, appeasement, and outright support from the American Government. He declared in early 1952 that the Nation's defenses were in "pitiful shape" because the Democratic Administration gambled with national security largely on the advice of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, who now is President.

Views On Foundations

Reece's political views showed up sharply last year when he told the House why he wanted to investigate the tax exempt foundations. Among other things, he contended:

- The majority of, tax-exempt foundations are honestly and efficiently run, and have made a "magnificent contribution to our national life."

- Some of the institutions support efforts to overthrow the American Government and undermine the American way of life.

- Communists and Socialists seize control of fortunes left by capitalists when they die, and turn these fortunes around to finance the destruction of capitalism.

- Large foundations have a tremendous influence on the intellectual and educational life of our country. These foundations . . . seem to be dedicated to promoting specific views on such matters as the welfare state, the United Nations, American foreign policy, the nature of the American economy.

- Some large foundations must answer questions such as:

1. Have they financed studies regarding the excellence of the American Constitution, the importance of the Declaration of Independence and the profundity of the philosophy of the Founding Fathers?
2. Have they supported the educational programs of veterans' organizations, and if not what is their explanation?
3. Have they supported studies that are critical of the welfare state and socialism, that demonstrate the merits of the competitive private-property system?
4. Have they given grants to active anti-Communists and repentant Communists who have served the United States bravely?
5. And if no, why?

Ford Is Criticized

Reece particularly criticized the Ford Foundation, declaring that failure to investigate it was one of the chief omissions of the Cox committee. He protested the Ford grant of \$15 million dollars for a broad civil

rights inquiry, including a survey of Congressional investigating committees. Such an investigation, said Reece, is "an insult to Congress."

Among other things, Reece blamed the Rockefeller Foundation in part for the loss of China to the Communists, and criticized the Ford Foundation for large grants to "Pro-Communist India."

After the Reece speech of July 27, 1953, the House voted 209 to 163 to let him make his investigation. Following several months of preliminaries, the inquiry last week went into open hearings on a report by Reece's research director, Norman Dodd.

Among its major features, the Dodd report turned out to be a relatively mild playback of Reece's own charges, coupled with an emphatic comment that they have not by their repetition as yet been proved.

In an introductory note, Dodd said the vast majority of foundations stand "beyond question in their conformity to the purposes of their founders, and in 'the truly American quality of their consequences.'"

From that admission, Dodd moved on to a sweeping, even though tentative, indictment.

Helped Bring New Deal

Dodd undertook to show that funds of some foundations have been used to finance ideas that are "incompatible with the fundamental concepts of our Constitution." There is a strong subsidiary theme of disapproval, suggesting that the foundation funds promoted a kind of education that brought about the New Deal "revolution" by an emphasis upon the will of the majority instead of individual freedom.

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Use of Benevolent Trust
FUNDING

By over-~~con~~consensation of the Dodd report the idea can be distilled that the funds of the foundations so educated the electorate that they voted the New Deal into power in 1933 by an overwhelming majority and put Mr. Eisenhower into the White House despite Rep. Reece's best efforts to the contrary. In these terms, the inquiry may help to answer questions that may have bothered Rep. Reece somewhat — why the GOP lost in 1932, and why his own candidate lost the nomination in 1952.

Dodd argued that between 1933 and 1936, this country went through a "revolution."

The fact that it was peaceful, and supported by "an overwhelming majority," Dodd suggests, can be explained only on the ground that "education in the United States had prepared in advance to endorse it."

Practices Explored

Dodd said he directed his staff to look to the foundations for deeper explanations. "I directed the staff to explore foundation practices, educational procedures, and the operations of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government since 1903 for reasonable evidence of a purposeful relationship between them."

He said relationship that had existed continually since the beginning of this 50-year period... evidence of a response to our involvement in international affairs... grants made by foundations (chiefly by Carnegie and Rockefeller) which were used to further this purpose by:

"Directing education in the United States toward an international viewpoint and discrediting the traditions to which it had been dedicated.

"Training individuals and servicing agencies to render advice to the Executive branch of the Federal Government.

"Decreasing the dependency of education upon the resources of the local community and freeing it from many of the natural safeguards inherent in the American tradition.

"Changing both school and college curricula to the point where they sometimes denied the principles underlying the American way of life.

"Financing experiments designed to determine the most effective means by which education could be pressed into service of a political nature."

Using the scientific method, Dodd explained, the staff went on to explore the relationship between foundations, education, and government, and study the development of American education since 1900. Among the organizations covered by this phase of the inquiry were:

American Council of Learned Societies, the National Research Council, the Social Science Research Council, the American Council on Education, the National Education Association, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Progressive Education Association, the American Historical Association, the John Dewey Society, and the Anti-Defamation League.

Declaring a high degree of cooperation and common interest was found among these organizations, Dodd's report said

that "it is difficult to avoid the feeling that... this common interest lies in the planning and control of certain aspects of American life through a combination of the Federal Government and education.

"This may explain why the foundations have played such an active role in the promotion of the social sciences, why they have favored so strongly the employment of social scientists by the Federal Government, and why they seem to have used their influence to transform education into an instrument for social change.

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Mr. Tolson ✓
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 Mr. Harbo ✓
 Mr. Rosen ✓
 Mr. Tamm ✓
 Mr. Tracy ✓
 Mr. Mohr ✓
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓
 Tele. Room ✓
 Mr. Holloman ✓
 Miss Gandy ✓

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for Bancroft
Trusts etc.

(FOUNDATIONS)

REP. WAYNE L. HAYS (D-O.) ACCUSED THE STAFF OF A SPECIAL HOUSE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE OF "DOCTORING" A REPORT HIGHLY CRITICAL OF TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS LIKE FORD, ROCKEFELLER AND CARNEGIE.

HAYS, AT A STORMY COMMITTEE HEARING, CHARGED THAT THE COMMITTEE STAFF SET OUT LAST FALL "TO DAMN THESE FUNDS PRETTY SEVERELY."

HAYS SAID THAT THE STAFF AT THE LAST MINUTE MADE SOME CHANGES IN ITS REPORT READ TO THE COMMITTEE LAST WEEK BY COMMITTEE RESEARCH DIRECTOR NORMAN DODD.

THE COMMITTEE IS INVESTIGATING WHETHER TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS ARE AIDING COMMUNIST OR SUBVERSIVE CAUSES.

SOME OF THE CHANGES WATERED DOWN THE LANGUAGE, HAYS SAID.

"SOME ONE CAME ALONG AND SAID 'I DON'T THINK WE CAN GET AWAY WITH THIS,'" HAYS CHARGED. "WE WILL HAVE TO TONE IT DOWN OR WE'LL GET RUN CLEAN OUT OF THE CAPITOL."

BUT IN TWO OTHER CHANGES, HAYS CLAIMED, CONCLUSIONS FAVORABLE TO FOUNDATIONS WERE DELETED.

HAYS SAID THE DELETED CONCLUSIONS WERE THAT ALLEGED DETERIORATION IN SCHOLARSHIP STANDARDS WAS NOT DUE "DIRECTLY TO FOUNDATION GRANTS" AND THAT ALLEGED "FAVORITISM" IN THE AWARD OF GRANTS WAS "LITTLE MORE THAN A REASONABLE RESPONSE TO CIRCUMSTANCES."

DODD, IN THE TESTIMONY AS GIVEN LAST WEEK, CHARGED THAT FOUNDATIONS HAD FINANCED "IDEAS AND PRACTICES INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION."

5/18--TS228P

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

20 MAY 25 1954

0-29
Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Boardman ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. Glavin ✓
Mr. Harbo ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tamm ✓
Mr. Tracy ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Winterrowd ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Holloman ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

BAUMGARDNER

ADD 1 FOUNDATIONS (228P)

DODD SAID CHANGES WERE MADE IN THE FINAL DRAFT, BUT HE DENIED THAT CONCLUSIONS FAVORABLE TO THE FOUNDATIONS WERE DELETED.

HAYS DECLARED "IT SEEMS TO ME A LITTLE QUEER" THAT CHANGES WOULD BE MADE AT THE LAST MINUTE AFTER 10 MONTHS OF STUDY.

"IF NOTHING CONCLUSIVE WAS DEVELOPED IN 10 MONTHS THEN LET'S THROW MR. DODD'S STATEMENT CLEAR OUT AND START OUT FRESH," HAYS SAID.

CHAIRMAN B. CARROLL REECE SAID HE SAW "NOTHING UNUSUAL ABOUT CHANGING WORDS AND PHRASEOLOGY."

COMMITTEE COUNSEL RENE A. WORMSER PROTESTED HAYS' CHARGE THAT THE STAFF REPORT WAS "DOCTORED" AND ASKED THAT HAYS WITHDRAW THE WORD. HAYS REFUSED.

HAYS CITED A MAY 13 EDITORIAL OF THE NEW YORK TIMES WHICH STATED: "WHAT IS ALARMING ABOUT MR. DODD'S OPENING STATEMENT IS THAT IT INDICATES A BELIEF THAT INTELLECTUAL ADVANCEMENT, IF ANY, MUST CONFORM TO A RIGID PATTERN OF THOUGHT SET IN THE 18TH CENTURY."

HAYS SAID HE ARRIVED AT THE SAME CONCLUSION FROM DODD'S TESTIMONY. HE ASKED DODD IF HE THOUGHT THE NEW YORK TIMES WAS "FAIR AND IMPARTIAL."

"MY OPINION OF IT," DODD REPLIED, "IS NO."

AFTER THE ROW BETWEEN HAYS AND THE STAFF, THOMAS H. BRIGGS, PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF ENGLISH AND EDUCATION AT COLUMBIA, TESTIFIED THAT THE NATION'S EDUCATORS ARE "INTIMIDATED" BY THE FORD FOUNDATION AND ARE AFRAID TO EXPRESS CRITICISM OF THE FUND'S OPERATIONS AND POLICIES.

BRIGGS, A RESIDENT OF MEREDITH, N.H., ATTACKED THE FUND FOR ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION, FINANCED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION. HE SAID HE RESIGNED FROM THE FUND'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE LAST MARCH.

HE SAID THE FUND WAS BEING USED TO "PROPAGANDIZE" IDEAS WHICH HE SAID SHOULD CAUSE "CONCERN, ALARM AND PERHAPS CONTROL." BRIGGS SPECIFICALLY ACCUSED THE FUND OF "DEPRECATING PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS."

BUT HE SAID EDUCATORS ARE AFRAID TO SPEAK OUT FOR FEAR THEY OR THEIR INSTITUTIONS WILL BE CUT OFF FROM GRANTS. HE SAID HE HIMSELF COULD SPEAK UP BECAUSE HE IS RETIRED AND HIS PROFESSIONAL REPUTATION ALREADY IS ESTABLISHED.

5/18--TS246P

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Mr. Tolson _____
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Use of Bureau 10-1-57

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ADD 2 FOUNDATIONS (1003A)

SARGENT TOLD THE COMMITTEE THAT THE LEVYING OF THE FEDERAL INCOME TAX WAS A "SOCIALISTIC" PLOT. HE SAID TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS WERE ACTIVELY PROMOTING SOCIALISM.

HIS TESTIMONY WAS ASSAILED AS "PECULIAR" BY REP. WAYNE L. HAYS (D-O.). SENIOR DEMOCRAT. HAYS ASSERTED THAT IF ANY MORE SUCH WITNESSES ARE CALLED "THE COMMITTEE WILL NEED A STAFF PSYCHIATRIST."

TRACING WHAT HE CALLED THE HISTORY OF "SUBVERSIVE TEACHING." SARGENT ASSERTED THAT TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS ARE "DIRECTLY INVOLVED" IN A "SOCIALISTIC" ATTACK ON THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THEY HAVE SUPPORTED THIS MOVEMENT IN THE PAST AND ARE STILL PROMOTING IT.

SARGENT SAID THAT THE FEDERAL INCOME TAX WAS DEVISED BY SOCIALISTS AS A MEANS OF GIVING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT "UNLIMITED POWER TO SPEND FOR SOCIALISTIC PURPOSES."

SARGENT TESTIFIED THAT THE COURTS HAVE BECOME "SOMEWHAT UNDERMINED" BECAUSE THE JUDICIARY HAS BEEN LOADED WITH PEOPLE OF A "PARTICULAR PHILOSOPHY."

"ANYONE WHO DISAGREED WITH YOU AND YOUR PECULIAR OPINIONS IS DANGEROUS," OBSERVED HAYS.

WHEN SARGENT ASSERTED THAT DURING THE COURSE OF THE HEARINGS HE WILL PRODUCE EVIDENCE THAT THE CARNEGIE, ROCKEFELLER AND FORD FOUNDATIONS HAVE VIOLATED ANTI-TRUST LAWS, HAYS ASKED IF HE HAD TURNED THE EVIDENCE OVER TO THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT.

SARGENT SAID HE HAD NOT.

THE COMMITTEE GOT INTO A PASSLE WHEN HAYS AND REP. GRACIE PFOST (D-IDA.) PROTESTED THEY WERE NOT SUPPLI

THE COMMITTEE GOT INTO A HASSLE WHEN HAYS AND REP. GRACIE PFOST (D-IDA.) PROTESTED THEY WERE NOT SUPPLIED WITH AN ABBREVIATED COPY OF SARGENT'S OPENING STATEMENT WHICH WAS SUPPLIED IN ADVANCE TO NEWSMEN.

HAYS SAID THE COMMITTEE SEEMED TO BE FOLLOWING THE "MCCARTHY HEARING" TECHNIQUES OF GETTING THE ACCUSATIONS ON PAGE ONE OF THE NEWSPAPERS AND THEN -- IF THEY DON'T TURN OUT TO BE TRUE -- THE ANSWERS WILL END UP LATER ON PAGE 16.

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 Miss Gandy ☒

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Barney

(RELEASE AT 10:00 A.M. EDT)

(FOUNDATIONS)

TAX-FREE FOUNDATIONS HAVE DISREGARDED STANDARDS OF PATRIOTISM, LOYALTY AND ACADEMIC RESPONSIBILITY, A FORMER OFFICIAL OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TOLD A SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE.

AARON H. SARGEANT, SAN FRANCISCO ATTORNEY, MADE THE CHARGE IN TESTIMONY PREPARED FOR THE COMMITTEE WHICH IS INVESTIGATING WHETHER FOUNDATIONS LIKE FORD, ROCKEFELLER AND CARNEGIE HAVE GIVEN GRANTS TO HELP UN-AMERICAN OR SUBVERSIVE CAUSES.

SARGEANT, FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICANIZATION COMMITTEE OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, SAID THE INVESTIGATION "IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT MATTERS WHICH HAS EVER COME BEFORE THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES."

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Irate Democrat to Drop Boycott Of Hearings on Foundations

Hays of Ohio Clashes With Witness Who Linked Paul Douglas to Socialists

By the Associated Press

Representative Hays, Democrat, of Ohio said he planned to be back today for resumption of a hearing he boycotted yesterday after heatedly charging a witness with maliciously "dropping the name" of Senator Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois in connection with a Socialist movement.

Due back in the witness chair was Aaron M. Sargeant, a San Francisco lawyer with whom Mr. Hays clashed repeatedly yesterday while Mr. Sargeant was telling a special House investigating committee that some tax-exempt foundations are "deliberately" promoting socialism. He named none specifically. The committee has been studying the operations of tax-free foundations in general.

Mr. Hays and the only other Democrat on the committee, Representative Gracie Pfof of Idaho, walked out, forcing a recess after Mr. Sargeant had read a list of names from a pamphlet which he said was issued by the

League for Industrial Democracy in 1941. The list followed an introduction which said: "Many present-day leaders of thought were among active members of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society college chapters."

Fails to Get Closed Session.

Among the names Mr. Sargeant read was that of "Paul Douglas." Mr. Hays accused Mr. Sargeant of "dropping the name of Senator Douglas with malice aforethought." He also criticized the witness for using what he called a "scatter-gun technique" in citing names.

The Ohioan moved for a closed session, citing a committee rule providing for such a procedure whenever testimony arises that might harm reputations.

But Chairman Reece, Republican, of Tennessee, cast the proxy votes of absent Representatives Goodwin, Republican, of Massachusetts and Wolcott, Republican, of Michigan and thus defeated Mr. Hays' motion. Whereupon Mr. Hays invoked another rule requiring at least one minority member to be present unless all three majority members are there. He and Mrs. Pfof walked out, forcing a recess.

Threatens Heckler.

As he stalked from the hearing room, Mr. Hays threatened to punch a spectator who was heard to mutter something that sounded like, "Hi, Malenkov." Turning to the heckler, Mr. Hays asked him if he had made the remark.

"If you did, be man enough to say so and I'll punch you in the nose," the irate lawmaker said.

When the spectator remained silent, Mr. Hays left the room.

Mr. Sargeant told newsmen he did not know whether the Douglas listed in the pamphlet was the Senator, but he added: "I will stand on the record of the pamphlet."

Senator Douglas, informed of the incident in Quincy, Ill., issued a statement here in which he asserted: "This dusting off of old and discredited charges is but another example of Congress' need to pass a code of procedure for the guidance of its investigations."

Joined Socialist Society.

The Senator said that 40 years ago, while a graduate student at Columbia University, he was a member of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, which he said was "organized to study social problems."

Senator Douglas said this organization was "in no sense a political action group. . . . It had no connection with the Socialist Party of which I have never been a member." The Senator also said he was "somewhat active" in the League for Industrial Democracy, but became inactive in the 1930s.

Mr. Sargeant testified that the Intercollegiate Socialist Society was the forerunner of the League for Industrial Democracy. He called the society one of socialism's "beachheads."

Says Foundations Aid Socialism.

In a go-round before the walk-out, Mr. Reece said Mr. Sargeant had made no derogatory statements, but had only "read the names of persons from material already published." And Mr. Sargeant said he would refuse to appear at a closed session "except under protest or process of the committee."

In earlier testimony, Mr. Sargeant said the Socialist movement has been growing here since the 1890s, nourished in part by foundation grants in the educational field.

He contended that the Federal income tax was "a socialistic plot" and that it was intended to "pave the way for Federal control on a broad scale."

Mr. Sargeant said he is head of the Fund for American Leadership, Inc., which he described as a California non-profit organization for the education of leaders in anti-subversive work. He said his group has no money.

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1450 of Ben's report. Thanks, Phil & the others, and
Elex me saying. In total to I agree with
the 1450 of Ben's report. ✓

~~Barth~~
Thornton

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 Miss Gandy _____

cc/ - W.S. H. 100

ADD 1 FOUNDATIONS (1128A)

THE ROW BROKE OUT AS ~~AARON M. SARGENT~~, SAN FRANCISCO ATTORNEY, WAITED TO RESUME HIS TESTIMONY. ~~SARGENT~~ YESTERDAY INJECTED THE NAME OF DOUGLAS IN THE HEARING AND LINKED DOUGLAS WITH THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

HAYS DECLARED THAT IT WAS AGAINST HOUSE RULES TO LET A WITNESS COME AND TESTIFY WITHOUT FIRST GIVING COMMITTEE MEMBERS COPIES OF HIS PREPARED TESTIMONY.

REECE OVERRULED HAYS' OBJECTION.

"NO MATTER WHAT THE RULES ARE," HAYS SHOUTED, "YOU'D OVERRULE ME."

REECE TRIED TO INTERRUPT HAYS.

"DON'T INTERRUPT ME," HAYS SHOUTED. HAYS SAID HE WAS AFRAID OF "A REPUBLICAN DICTATORSHIP" ON THE COMMITTEE AND ACCUSED REECE OF BRINGING IN HIS "SHOCK TROOPS." THIS WAS A REFERENCE TO THE PRESENCE OF REPS. JESSE P. WOLCOTT (R-MICH.) AND ANGLIER L. GOODWIN (R-MASS.), WHICH GAVE REECE A THREE-TO-TWO MAJORITY OVER HAYS AND REP. GRACIE PFOST (D-IDA.).

5/25--EG1131A

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Tolson ☒
 Mr. Boardman ☒
 Mr. Nichols ☒
 Mr. Belmont ☒
 Mr. Glavin ☐
 Mr. Harbo ☐
 Mr. Rosen ☐
 Mr. Tamm ☐
 Mr. Tracy ☐
 Mr. Mohr ☐
 Mr. Winterrowd ☐
 Tele. Room ☐
 Mr. Holloman ☐
 Miss Gandy ☐

ADD 2 FOUNDATIONS

HAYS THEN CHARGED THAT REECE HAD RENEIGED ON A PROMISE TO LET THE DEMOCRATS NAME ONE MEMBER OF THE STAFF.

"THE CHAIRMAN DOESN'T KEEP HIS WORD," HAYS TOLD REECE, FACE TO FACE.

HAYS CHARGED THAT REECE PROMISED HIM A STAFF MEMBER WHEN REECE WAS HAVING TROUBLE GETTING THE HOUSE TO APPROVE \$65,000 LAST YEAR FOR THE INQUIRY. HAYS SAID REECE WOULD HAVE LOOKED "STUPID" IN THE FIGHT FOR THE MONEY IF HAYS HAD NOT COME TO HIS HELP.

HAYS SAID "IF SOME ONE DOUBLE CROSSES YOU ONCE, IT'S HIS FAULT. IF HE DOES IT TWICE, IT'S YOUR FAULT."

"YOU WON'T GET A SECOND OPPORTUNITY," HAYS SHOUTED AT REECE.

"EVEN THAT STATEMENT IS NOT GOING TO PROVOKE THIS CHAIRMAN," REECE ANSWERED WITH RESTRAINT.

REECE INSISTED THAT HE HAD NEVER DOUBLE-CROSSED ANY ONE OR BROKE HIS WORD.

"I'D SAY YOU DID BOTH OF THEM," HAYS SNAPPED BACK.

"YOU'RE NOT GOING TO PROVOKE ME," REECE INSISTED STERNLY.

HAYS MOVED TO HEAR SARGENT IN SECRET SESSION TO PREVENT PUBLIC "NAME-DROPPING" AND HARM TO PERSONS NOT INVOLVED IN THE INVESTIGATION. MRS. PFOST SUPPORTED THE MOVE.

WOLCOTT MOVED INSTEAD TO HEAR SARGENT IN PUBLIC SESSION "WITHOUT INTERRUPTION."

THE COMMITTEE, ON A TH

EE-TO-TWO PARTY LINE VOTE, ACCEPTED THE MOVE TO HEAR SARGENT AND TURNED HAYS DOWN.

HAYS CONTINUED TO PROTEST WHAT HE CALLED "CHARACTER ASSASSINATION AT WILL." HE SAID "THIS WITNESS IS COMING IN HERE WITH A SHOT GUN AND SHOOTING OFF IN ALL DIRECTIONS."

HAYS AND PFOST DEMANDED THAT DEAN RUSK, PRESIDENT OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION, BE CALLED AS THE NEXT WITNESS.

HAYS SAID HE HAD ONE QUESTION FOR RUSK WHICH HE SAID "MAY CHANGE THE WHOLE COURSE OF THESE HEARINGS."

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION IS ONE WHICH THE COMMITTEE IS INVESTIGATING AS PART OF ITS EFFORT TO FIND OUT WHETHER FOUNDATIONS ARE SUPPORTING UN-AMERICAN OR SUBVERSIVE CAUSES.

5/25--EG1156A

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Tolson ☒
 Mr. Boardman ☒
 Mr. Nichols ☒
 Mr. Belmont ☒
 Mr. Glavin ☒
 Mr. Harbo ☒
 Mr. Rosen ☒
 Mr. Tamm ☒
 Mr. Tracy ☒
 Mr. Mohr ☒
 Mr. Winterrowd ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Mr. Holloman ☒
 Miss Gandy ☒

ADD 5 FOUNDATIONS

REP. WAYNE L. HAYS (D-O.) ACCUSED A CONGRESSIONAL WITNESS OF TRYING TO IMPLY THAT EDWARD R. MURROW AND SEVERAL PROMINENT EDUCATORS WERE "COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS."

AARON M. SARGENT, A SAN FRANCISCO ATTORNEY, APPEARING BEFORE A HOUSE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING TAX-FREE FOUNDATIONS, NAMED MURROW AND THE EDUCATORS IN A LIST OF 25 PERSONS ALLEGEDLY CONNECTED WITH PLANS FOR A SUMMER SESSION AT MOSCOW UNIVERSITY IN 1935. HAYS PROTESTED THAT THE TESTIMONY WAS "THE SAME OLD TRIPE" BROUGHT UP BY SEN. MCCARTHY IN HIS RECENT TV EXCHANGE WITH MURROW. HAYS SAID MURROW HAD REPUDIATED THE CHARGE WHEN MCCARTHY MADE IT.

HE DEMANDED A STOP TO WHAT HE CALLED "CHARACTER ASSASSINATION BY INFERENCE."

HE SAID HE OBJECTED TO AN "OBSCURE PERSON" LIKE SARGENT APPEARING BEFORE A COMMITTEE TO "MALIGN PEOPLE LIKE THIS."

EARLIER, THE COMMITTEE VOTED 3-2 ON PARTY LINES AGAINST HAYS' MOVE TO TAKE SARGENT'S TESTIMONY IN CLOSED SESSION TO PREVENT "NAME DROPPING."

SARGENT IN THE LIST OF 25 INCLUDED SUCH NAMES AS JOHN DEWEY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PHILOSOPHY PROFESSOR; FRANK P. GRAHAM, THEN PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA; AND ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, THEN PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

5/25--W0414P

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Tax-Exempt Groups Backed Pro-Red Books, Witness Says

By Robert K. Walsh

A witness before the House committee investigating tax-exempt foundations asserted today the Rockefeller Foundation gave \$50,000 and the National Education Association "lobbied" for a textbook series that consistently praised Soviet Russia and disparaged the United States.

On the basis of a note handed to him by an unidentified spectator in the hearing room, the witness, Aaron Sargent, said he was informed—but was not sure—that the books are being used in Arlington (Va.) schools.

The series of social study books and pamphlets under the general title of "Building America" were barred from schools in California by the State Legislature, according to Mr. Sargent, who is a San Francisco lawyer and head of the Fund for American Leadership, Inc.

Hays Interrupts.

The testimony of Mr. Sargent, interrupted frequently by questions from Representative Hays, Democrat, of Ohio, produced comparatively few stormy scenes such as those at yesterday's session.

There nevertheless were many angry exchanges. These included a threat by Mr. Hays to have the transcript sent to Attorney General Brownell to determine whether Mr. Sargent committed perjury.

The latter dispute centered on a statement by Mr. Sargent at the opening day of the hearing last week that he had been offered "in substance" the job of chief counsel to a similar investigating committee headed by the

late Representative Cox, Democrat, of Georgia, two years ago. Mr. Sargent added, however, that no formal offer was made to him.

He asserted today that "the foundations were against me."

Relation Not Clear.

Neither the witness nor the committee headed by Representative Reece, Republican, of Tennessee made clear the degree of relationship between the Rockefeller Foundation and the NEA and the "Building America" series. The books were first published in 1936 by the E. M. Hale Co. and prepared by a group listed only as "the Society for Curriculum Study."

Mr. Sargent testified, however, that the NEA actively promoted the series and "lobbied" for their use in California schools. He read numerous passages and displayed pictures he said put Russian aims and activities in a consistently favorable light while most statements and pictures relating to American history and ways of life showed only the seamier side.

Hays Issues Warning.

Other highpoints at today's session included:

1. A warning by Mr. Hays that he would object to afternoon committee meetings during House sessions if witnesses such as Mr. Sargent were permitted to testify at length and "drop names indiscriminately in an obvious attempt to tie in prominent persons with alleged subversive activities."

2. A hint by Mr. Hays that the committee's investigation may be cut short by lack of funds. He noted that the \$65,000 appropriation is running low, and he indicated that many House members may refuse to vote further funds.

3. A denial by Mr. Sargent, in response to a question by Mr. Hays, that any one in the Republican National Committee helped him to prepare his material for the current hearings.

4. A plea by Chairman Reece that Mr. Hays refrain from "dragging in irrelevant issues and thus preventing decorum here."

5. A retort by Mr. Hays that "we have responsibility as members of Congress not to bring in some obscure, self-appointed expert and character assassin who reflects on such men as Senator Douglas and Mr. Murrow."

May Call Murrow.

As a result of Mr. Sargent's statement, the committee may call Edward R. Murrow, television and radio commentator, to testify. It already has arranged to hear Dean Rusk, former Undersecretary of State now heading the Rockefeller Foundation, next Wednesday.

In more ways than one the sessions of the special five-member House committee are re-

sembling the "poor man's Army-McCarthy hearings." For noise, confusion and acrimonious accusations among the members themselves, its sessions of the last two days more than matched displays of bad feeling from the current best-attended Senate committee hearings.

Mr. Hays, who walked out of the meeting Monday when Mr. Sargent described Senator Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois, as a socialist, told reporters today he doesn't want to get the reputation of being a "needler" or obstructionist. He added that he would try to abide by a motion adopted by a 3-2 committee vote yesterday to let Mr. Sargent finish his testimony without undue interruption.

Use of Benevolent Trusts,
Philanthropies & Elitist
Institutions To Implement
The Programs of Subversive
Groups

5-WCH

file
Use of Benevolent
Trust Funds

55 JUN 15 1954

NOT RECORDED
46 JUN 14 1954

WASH. STAR
A-3

5-26-54

Hays Blasts 'Smear' in Probe Into Tax-Exempt Foundations

By Robert K. Walsh

Representative Hays, Democrat, of Ohio, on the House committee investigating tax-exempt foundations, declared today that needling of some witnesses and angry outbursts may be the only way to prevent smearing of innocent persons or worthy organizations.

As a result of statements by a witness with whom Mr. Hays tangled repeatedly and heatedly yesterday, the committee may call Edward R. Murrow, television and radio commentator, to testify. It already has arranged to hear Dean Rusk, former Undersecretary of State now heading the Rockefeller Foundation, next Wednesday.

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More Accord Hoped For.

The two Democrats and three Republicans said they expected the situation to be more peaceful today. Aaron M. Sargent, San Francisco lawyer formerly identified officially with the Sons of the American Revolution, returned for his third day. He hoped to complete his testimony. He contends that some foundations, by their financial grants supported and encouraged economic, social and sometime political ideas contrary to their tax-exempt purposes and dangerous to the United States.



—AP Photo.
AARON M. SARGENT.

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"I admit I was really angry yesterday," he said. "I do not intend to needle witnesses. But this witness has been vague and evasive. He dropped names all over the place and often didn't connect people or organizations he mentioned with foundations that are tax exempt."

Breaks Resolution.

The mention of Mr. Murrow late yesterday caused Mr. Hays to break his resolution. The mention of that name and others by Mr. Sargent also caused Committee Chairman Reece, Republican, of Tennessee, to remark that somebody might have to be subpoenaed to verify or clarify some of Mr. Sargent's reports.

Mr. Sargent read a 1935 pamphlet relating to a summer school session in Moscow and

apparently urging American educators to take part. The pamphlet, the witness said, was issued by the Institute of International Education, Inc. Mr. Sargent added that the institute

had received grants from "the Rockefeller." He explained he did not know whether the funds came from the Rockefeller Foundation or from members of the Rockefeller family.

Mr. Murrow's name was among 25 apparently as sponsors on the pamphlet, Mr. Sargent told the committee.

"I really must object to this sort of thing," Mr. Hays broke in, after a comparatively quiet hour earlier in the afternoon. "This is the same thing Joe McCarthy accused Murrow of several weeks ago and the whole thing has been repudiated. Murrow said the Moscow meeting never was held. To let obscure persons without any standing in education come here and malign people of the standing of some of those on that list, I must object."

Hints 'Indoctrination.'

Mr. Sargent insisted that his reason for reading the list of names "had nothing to do with Murrow." He declared that the purpose was "to show that large numbers of American educators went to summer school in Mos-

cow and may have been indoctrinated."

The committee recessed to call Mr. Murrow's office in New York. Mr. Hays returned to report he had been informed Mr. Murrow stated that the Moscow school meeting never was held. Chairman Reece remarked that it might be a good idea to subpoena "someone" to settle questions of fact.

"I nominate Murrow," Mr. Hays said. "If it's a lie he can nail it. I merely want to ask him if the school was held or not held."

Earlier in the day, Mr. Hays and Representative Gracie Pfof of Idaho, the other Democrat on the committee, succeeded in a move to have Mr. Rusk called as a witness next week.

This was the only one of several motions or points of order they won in attempting to have closed sessions or advance statements to prevent what Mr. Hays denounced as "character assassination" by the witness.

As for Mr. Rusk, Mr. Hays said he planned to ask him only one question. He did not disclose what it would be.

File
Use by Benevolent
Trust Funds
5-6-54
Cox Committee

60 JUN 18 1954

100-385355-A
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133 JUN 17 1954
WASH STAR-A-15
5-26-54

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Mr. N. H. ...
Mr. Belmont ...
Mr. Harbo ...
Mr. Mohr ...
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Mr. Holloman ...
Miss Gandy ...

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199 JUN 17 1954

50 JUN 17 1954

Wash. Post and Times Herald

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N. Y. Herald Tribune

N. Y. Mirror

Date: May 26, 1954



—AP Photo.

AARON M. SARGENT

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Foundation Probe Begins Week-Long Cooling-Off Recess

By Robert K. Walsh

The House committee examining tax-exempt foundations started a week-long cooling off recess today. It left its staff concerned about unexpected witnesses, suggested changes in the investigation, and getting along on dwindling funds.

Dean Rusk, head of the Rockefeller Foundation, was the only witness definitely scheduled for next Wednesday. But Dr. Harold R. Benjamin, former dean of the College of Education of the University of Maryland, and Dr. H. Gordon Hullfish of Ohio State University were among several prospective witnesses demanded by Representative Hays, Democrat, of Ohio.

Mr. Hays also indicated he thought it might be a good idea to invite Paul Hoffman, former president of the Ford Foundation and one-time Economic Cooperation Administration head. He protested yesterday that Aaron M. Sargent, San Francisco lawyer, unfairly treated Mr. Hoffman, Dr. Benjamin and others by "implying at least that they engaged in activities dangerous to the United States."

Change in Emphasis.

The problem confronting the committee's staff amounts to more than suddenly revising its previous order of witnesses. A possible change in emphasis in handling the investigation seemed to develop as a result of comments late yesterday by Chairman Reece, Republican of Tennessee, and other members.

Their remarks dealt with legal and financial aspects of tax-exempt foundations. Since the hearings began last week, and particularly during the last three days when Mr. Sargent testified, the emphasis was mainly on whether some foundations made grants that were used for subversive or other purposes dangerous to the public welfare.

Mr. Reece urged that the committee look into the "legal concept of perpetuity" by which he said a family or individual could "set up a foundation, name a board of self-perpetuating directors." He said this might be too much legal latitude in letting a tax-exempt organization use its money for practically any purpose it regarded as being for the public welfare. Other members said later they believe the committee should look closely into the income and other financial aspects of such foundations.

"Discrimination" Mentioned.

Mr. Sargent went all the way up to the Supreme Court in reading a recent unanimous opinion written by Chief Justice Warren in a case involving racial discrimination in selecting juries. He urged the committee to send "sworn questionnaires" to tax-exempt foundations for information as to whether they "discriminated" by refusing grants to anti-Communist and "pro-American" organizations.

Mr. Sargent made the following general charges against the "Big Three" foundations, so far as grants in the educational field are concerned:

Rockefeller Foundation — It

prompted "the John Dewey system of education and aided the introduction of Communist practices in schools."

Carnegie Foundation—It has done "much the same thing" and also has "been conducting lobbying."

Ford Foundation—It has "interfered with the integrity of local schools" and is promoting "world federalism."

Bayley Jones
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Tax Free Foundations

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46 JUN 28 1954

WASH. STAR *A-21*

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~~Hays~~ Asks for Fair Play

Reece Probe Is Called Attack on Ike Backers

By Edward F. Ryan
Staff Reporter

Representative Wayne L. Hays (D-Ohio) yesterday strongly implied that one reason Rep. B. Carroll Reece (R-Tenn.) is probing tax-exempt foundations is to strike at members of President Eisenhower's Administration and at his political backers.

Reece, former chairman of the GOP National Committee, was southern manager for the late Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-Ohio) in his 1952 campaign for the GOP presidential nomination. In that campaign Reece was a bitter critic of Mr. Eisenhower.

Hays' suggestion that the Reece inquiry is tied into a theme of GOP factional controversy arose at several points in an all-day hearing. In one

tangle with Reece, Hays declared heatedly: "I'm only trying to have fair play and trying to protect the moneyed wing of the Republican Party from another wing."

In a role of "referee," Hays added he feels that "if there's to be any bloodletting, I want it to be fair."

At another point, Hays heatedly protested a reference by a witness to Paul G. Hoffman, former president of the Ford Foundation, now chairman of the Board of Studebaker Corp. and a leading supporter of President Eisenhower.

The witness, Aaron M. Sargent, San Francisco, protested

See REECE, Page 10, Col. 6

Bea Gardner

J. Thorne

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199 JUN 17 1954

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100-385355

Wash. Post and
Times Herald

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N. Y. Herald Tribune

N. Y. Mirror

Date: MAY 27 1954

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JUN 17 1954

Reece's Probe Called Attack on Ike Backers

REECE—From Page 1

that Hoffman threw the force of the Ford Foundation into a "lobbying" effort to persuade the Los Angeles School Board to retain in its classrooms an educational pamphlet it had prepared on the activities of the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization. Sargent said that Hoffman had "no right to lobby" before the school board and he said the school pamphlet was "propaganda."

Hays declared that "Paul Hoffman is a reputable outstanding American who doesn't lend himself to un-American activities."

"He was overstepping his bounds," Sargent replied, referring to the Los Angeles incident.

"You say he was doing this, but that doesn't make it so," Hays replied. "You like to make a lot of nasty inferences."

A moment later Hays turned to Reece and said, "Mr. Chairman, if you sit here and let this man do this kind of thing to Mr. Paul Hoffman the doors of the Democratic Party are open to him any time he wants to come in."

Reece did not reply, and Sargent resumed testifying.

Hays asked Sargent earlier just what were his objections to the Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford Foundations — the groups selected by Reece and his staff as the major targets for their inquiry.

Sargent said the Rockefeller foundation has supported progressive education and helped introduce communist practices into the schools, and Carnegie had supported this, while the Ford Foundation interfered with the integrity of local schools and supported world federation.

Hays then asked the staff to furnish a list of officers and directors of these foundations, declaring they would show many prominent people associated



AARON M. SARGENT
... assailed by prober

with the Eisenhower Administration.

"I don't believe that such people as the Fords and Paul Hoffman are in any way involved in any plot to subvert our government," Hays added.

Reece countered that "boards of directors of these foundations are in the main composed of most admirable men — the complaint I developed was that they were so engaged in their business and personal affairs that they did not devote the time to know what the administrative people of the foundations were doing."

"That boils down to your saying they're too stupid to know what's going on and we're going to tell them," Hays told Reece.

"It doesn't boil down," Reece replied, "and if it did boil down, it wouldn't boil down to that."

Early in the hearing, Hays threatened to seek perjury

action against Sargent for having declared that he was offered the post of counsel for an earlier House committee that looked into foundations under the chairmanship of the late Rep. E. E. Cox (D-Ga.).

Hays said, "I'm preparing to bring in a witness that will testify flatly they (the Cox committee) threw up their hands in horror and wouldn't have anything to do with you."

Later after Hays had denounced Sargent as "an obscure character assassin" and "a self-appointed expert who weasled out on the truth," the witness said "if you make that statement (outside of Congress where a member is no longer immune against libel action) I'll take care of that."

"I'm making a speech Sunday in my District," Hays retorted, "and I'll probably have plenty to say about you and I'll send you a copy Monday."

Mr. Tolson ☒
 Mr. Boardman ☒
 Mr. Nichols ☒
 Mr. Belmont ☒
 Mr. Harbo ☒
 Mr. Mohr ☒
 Mr. Parsons ☒
 Mr. Rosen ☒
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 Mr. Sizoo ☒
 Mr. Winterrowd ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Mr. Holloman ☒
 Miss Gandy ☒

TAX EXEMPT

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(FOUNDATIONS)

A SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS, IN A STORMY NEW ROW, VOTED DOWN A DEMOCRATIC MOTION TO HALT ITS HEARINGS UNTIL ALL MEMBERS ARE BRIEFED ON WHAT THEY'RE INVESTIGATING.

REP. JACIE FOST (D-IDA.) CHARGED THAT THE HEARINGS HAVE BEEN "A VERY UNSATISFACTORY USE OF TIME AND A WASTE OF THE TAXPAYER'S MONEY."

THE COMMITTEE, HEADED BY REP. B. CARROLL REECE (R-TENN.), HAS \$115,000 TO FIND OUT WHETHER TAX-FREE FOUNDATIONS LIKE THOSE OF ROCKEFELLER, CARNEGIE AND FORD HAVE HELPED PROMOTE SUBVERSIVE CAUSES.

"I AM BECOMING INCREASING ALARMED BY THE MANNER IN WHICH THESE HEARINGS ARE BEING CONDUCTED," MRS. FOST PROTESTED. "IF, AS IT NOW APPEARS, THIS IS NOT TO BE AN OBJECTIVE INQUIRY TO GET THE FACTS, BUT RATHER A SOUNDING BOARD FOR PROPOUNDING LOADED EVIDENCE, THEN LET US FIND OUT RIGHT NOW."

REP. WAYNE L. HAYS (D-O.) SIDED WITH MRS. FOST. HE OBJECTED TO THE "UNUSUAL PROCEDURE" OF ALLOWING WITNESSES TO APPEAR AND EXPRESS THEIR "OPINIONS" UNDER OATH DEROGATORY TO FOUNDATIONS. A WITNESS LAST WEEK CHARGED THAT THE BIG FOUNDATIONS WERE PROMOTING COMMUNIST PRACTICES IN THE SCHOOLS.

HAYS SAID HE HAD A LETTER FROM "THE HEAD OF A POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT IN ONE OF THE GREAT UNIVERSITIES OF THE SOUTH." HAYS SAID THE PROFESSOR, WHOM HE DID NOT NAME, DISAGREED WITH THE TESTIMONY SO FAR AND WANTED TO APPEAR.

REECE, WITH A FULL SWING OF THE GAVEL WHICH JARRED EVERYBODY IN THE ROOM, INTERRUPTED HAYS.

"YOU CAST SLURS ON THIS CHAIRMAN," REECE SHOUTED, "AND I HAVE BEEN DETERMINED THAT I'M NOT GOING TO LOSE MY VERY GOOD DISPOSITION."

HAYS SAID "YOU CAN BANG YOUR GAVEL ALL YOU WANT BUT YOU ARE NOT GOING TO SILENCE ME."

"PERHAPS YOU'VE BEEN LOOKING AT TOO MUCH TELEVISION," HAYS CHIDED REECE.

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Tolson _____
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 Miss Gandy _____

TAX EXEMPT

ADD 2 FOUNDATIONS (1253P)

SUGARMAN SAID THAT 55 OUT OF MORE THAN 30,000 TAX-FREE ORGANIZATIONS WERE DEPRIVED OF THEIR TAX-EXEMPTION IN THE TWO YEAR PERIOD ENDING JUNE 30, 1952.

HAYS ASKED WHETHER ANDREWS THOUGHT THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE SHOULD TAKE A LOOK AT ALL THE BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS PUT OUT BY TAX-FREE FOUNDATIONS TO HELP DETERMINE WHETHER THEY ARE ILLEGALLY INDULGING IN "PROPAGANDA."

ANDREWS SAID HE THOUGHT THAT WOULD CREATE A TREMENDOUS STORAGE PROBLEM IN HIS OFFICE AND PROBABLY WOULDN'T BE OF MUCH PRACTICAL HELP.

"WE CERTAINLY DON'T WANT TO BE CENSORS," ANDREWS SAID. "NOBODY LIKES A TAX COLLECTOR," HAYS SAID, EXPLAINING THAT THAT WAS AN OLD SAYING AND NO PERSONAL REFERENCE TO ANDREWS. "YOU DON'T WANT TO ADD THE JOB OF CENSOR, TOO," HAYS COMMENTED.

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BAUMGARDNER

ADD 1 FOUNDATIONS (540P)

MCNIECE MENTIONED 26 GRANTS GIVEN BY THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION TO ORGANIZATIONS OR INDIVIDUALS "WITH LEFTIST RECORDS OF AFFILIATIONS." HAYS SAID THAT THE ROCKEFELLER GROUP HAD MADE 40,000 GRANTS AND IF ONLY 26 OF THEM WERE "BAD," THEN "THEY'RE 99.44/100 PERCENT PURE." "ISN'T IT AN UNFAIR REFLECTION ON ROCKEFELLER TO STRESS THE 26?"

HAYS ASKED.

"I DON'T THINK SO," MCNIECE REPLIED.

"TWO BAD EGGS WILL SPOIL YOUR OMELETTE OF 12," MCNIECE ADDED. UNDER QUESTIONING BY HAYS, MCNIECE SAID HE BELIEVED THAT SOCIAL SECURITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE WERE "SOCIALISTIC."

"DO YOU WANT TO GO BACK TO 1932?" HAYS ASKED HIM.

"SELECTIVELY, YES," MCNIECE ANSWERED.

HAYS, WHO IS A FORMER SCHOOL TEACHER, SAID "I TALKED ABOUT SOCIAL SECURITY BACK IN 1935 AND GOT IN TROUBLE WITH THE SCHOOL BOARD BECAUSE THEY SAID I WAS TEACHING SOCIALISM."

"I WENT RIGHT AHEAD AND SAID WHAT I THOUGHT," HAYS SAID. "MAYBE THAT'S WHY I'M HERE NOW AND NOT TEACHING SCHOOL," HE SAID.

HAYS ACCUSED MCNIECE OF HAVING A "PLOT PSYCHOSIS."

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BAUMGARDNER

(FOUNDATIONS)

PROF. DAVID N. ROWE OF YALE TOLD A HOUSE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE THAT FOR EVERY CARD-CARRYING COMMUNIST THERE ARE 1,000 OTHER PERSONS WHO CAN'T BE CALLED COMMUNISTS BUT WHO ARE "ADVANCING THE INTERESTS OF WORLD COMMUNISM."

ROWE, A PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, A FAR EASTERN EXPERT AND A FORMER TRUSTEE OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, TESTIFIED BEFORE A SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING TAX-FREE FOUNDATIONS. "PEOPLE WHO CAN BE TAGGED AND TRACKED BY THE FBI," ROWE SAID, "ARE A SMALL MINORITY."

REP. WAYNE L. HAYS (D-O.) TOLD ROWE THAT A NEWSLETTER WAS SENT TO HIM RECENTLY STATING THAT IF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER ASKED CONGRESS FOR U.S. INTERVENTION IN INDOCHINA NOT MORE THAN 25 CONGRESSMEN WOULD VOTE FOR IT.

HAYS ASKED ROWE IF CONGRESSMEN VOTING AGAINST INTERVENTION WOULD BE AIDING "WORLD COMMUNISM."

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ADD 1 FOUNDATIONS (101P)

ROWE REPLIED THAT HE BELIEVED THAT TO COMBAT WORLD COMMUNISM, THERE MUST BE "WESTERN INTERVENTION IN MUCH STRONGER FORCE." IF THAT MEANS U.S. INTERVENTION, "SO BE IT," HE SAID.

ROWE TESTIFIED THAT HE HAD TRIED IN VAIN TO WARN ABOUT HIS "FEARS AND SUSPICIONS" ABOUT THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS BEFORE HE RESIGNED AS A TRUSTEE IN 1950. HE SAID ONLY A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE LIKE THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, WHICH INVESTIGATED IPR, COULD EXPOSE THE "GREAT DEAL OF DAMAGE" IPR DID.

IPR WAS FINANCED BY THE ROCKEFELLER AND CARNEGIE FOUNDATIONS, HE SAID.

FOUNDATION GRANTS TO IPR, HE SAID, "HELPED TO IMPLEMENT A LOT OF PEOPLE WHO...DID NOT HAVE THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AT HEART."

6/4--JE112P

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Backs Congress Probes

Asia Expert Sees U. S. Reds Aided by Many Not in Party

WASHINGTON, June 4 (UP).—A Yale University political science professor said today there are 1,000 persons "advancing the interests of world communism" for every card-carrying member of the party.

Prof. David N. Rowe, an expert on the Far East, said these persons cannot be called Communists. He told a House subcommittee investigating tax-free foundations that "people who can be tagged and tracked by the F. B. I. are a small minority."

Rep. Wayne L. Hays, D., Ohio, seeking to clarify Prof. Rowe's statements, noted that a recent news letter stated that not more than twenty-five Congressmen would vote for United States intervention in Indo-China if President Eisenhower were to request it.

Seeks Interpretation

He asked Prof. Rowe if Congressmen voting against intervention were aiding "world communism."

Prof. Rowe merely replied that he believed there must be "Western intervention in much stronger force" to meet the Communist menace. If that includes American intervention in Indo-China, he said, "so be it."

A former trustee of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Prof. Rowe said financial grants to the group by the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations helped to implement a lot of people who . . . did not have the best interests of the United States at heart."

Resigned in 1950

Prof. Rowe said he quit that post in 1950 after trying vainly to warn about his "fears and suspicions" of the I. P. R. But he said only Congressional investigators, such as the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which conducted a lengthy investigation of I. P. R. could expose the "great deal of damage" it did.

The professor said persons seeking to "exploit world Communism" concentrated on Far Eastern affairs as the "strategic place to strike" because American ignorance of the Far East "was so great." He also protested that he called attempts of foundations to control teaching and academic research.

Criticizes Carnegie Group

He charged that the Carnegie Corporation tried to get Yale to fill its Far Eastern program in 1947 and concentrate instead on Southeast Asia. The purpose, he said, was to give some universities a monopoly in specific

fields and promote search "efficiency."

He said the idea was "personally repugnant to me" and that Yale refused to accept it.

He also cited a current research project at the University of Washington, Seattle, financed in part by the Rockefeller Foundation. It is a "drastic experiment in the use of the so-called collective method" of research, he said.

He contended that the project, involving study of the mid-nineteenth century Taiping revolution in China, is an example of the use of "mass accumulation" of facts as opposed to "free pursuit of curiosity" by individual scholars.

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BAUMGARDNER

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Barker

(FOUNDATIONS)

PROFESSOR KENNETH COLEGROVE OF QUEENS COLLEGE, NEW YORK, TESTIFIED THAT TAX-FREE FOUNDATIONS TEND TO SUPPORT EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH "SLANTED TOWARDS THE LEFT."

COLEGROVE, A RETIRED NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE NOW TEACHING AT QUEENS COLLEGE, SAID THE FOUNDATIONS ALSO FAVOR LARGE UNIVERSITIES AND ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR GREATER CENTRALIZATION OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH.

COLEGROVE APPEARED AS A WITNESS BEFORE A SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE HEADED BY REP. B. CARROLL REECE (R-TENN.) WHICH IS TRYING TO FIND OUT WHETHER FOUNDATIONS LIKE THOSE OF FORD, ROCKEFELLER AND CARNEGIE ARE HELPING SUBVERSIVE CAUSES.

COLEGROVE CITED HIS EXPERIENCE AS A MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS WHICH WAS FINANCED BY ROCKFELLER AND THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION.

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ADD 1 FOUNDATIONS (1233P)

COLEGROVE SAID IPR WAS VERY INFLUENTIAL IN GETTING KEY GOVERNMENT JOBS FOR PEOPLE IT RECOMMENDED. HE SAID THE RESEARCH ORGANIZATION WAS "CAPTURED BY SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS" IN 1938-39.

COLEGROVE SAID HE AND OTHERS "DIDN'T WAKE UP UNTIL AROUND 1942-43." HE SAID THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION WAS GIVEN INFORMATION ABOUT COMMUNISTS AND FELLOW TRAVELERS IN IPR.

"WE OUGHT TO HAVE THE WHOLE STORY WHY THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION FAILED TO MAKE THE INVESTIGATION IN 1945" AND CONTINUED TO GIVE MONEY TO IPR, COLEGROVE SAID.

COLEGROVE, WHO WAS AN ADVISER TO GEN. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR IN TOKYO AFTER THE WAR, SAID THE PENTAGON SENT "SUBVERSIVES" AS CIVIL AFFAIRS ADVISERS TO MACARTHUR. HE SAID HE FOUND THAT THEY HAD BEEN RECOMMENDED BY IPR.

"THE SUBVERSIVES WHO DID COME OUT (TO TOKYO) WERE VERY SOON DISCOVERED BY GENERAL VILLOUGHBY," COLEGROVE TESTIFIED. MAJ. GEN. CHARLES D. VILLOUGHBY WAS MACARTHUR'S INTELLIGENCE CHIEF.

6/8--JE117P

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Part
House Committee To Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations
 Rep. Hays Proves Danger of Lifting Paragraphs

Out of Context Quotes of Popes Trip Prober

Rep. Wayne L. Hays (D., O.) used the writings of Popes Pius XI and Leo XIII today to show the dangers of using paragraphs out of context in an effort to label an author as subversive.

At a house committee hearing investigating tax-exempt foundations, Rep. Hays handed three quotations to Thomas M. McNiece, assistant research director of the committee.

Without telling Mr. McNiece who wrote the material, Rep. Hays asked him to comment.

"All of these are closely comparable to communist literature that I have read," Mr. McNiece said. "They parallel very closely communistic or socialistic ideas."

IDENTIFIED

Rep. Hays then identified the quotations as excerpts from the writings of Pope Pius XI and Leo XIII.

Rep. Hays said Mr. McNiece's comments showed "the danger of lifting paragraphs out of context."

"You wouldn't call the Church communistic?" Rep. Hays asked.

"I'm not calling the Church communistic," Mr. McNiece replied.

"You can't lift a paragraph out of context and prove anything," Rep. Hays said.

NOT A CATHOLIC

Rep. Hays said he was not a Catholic, but said "the Catholic Church has been one of the bul-

works against communism in the world."

Rep. Hays accused Mr. McNiece of taking paragraphs from other material to show that foundations like Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie had supported "socialistic" projects.

The committee, headed by Rep. B. Carroll Reece (R., Tenn.), is trying to find out if tax-free foundations are helping subversive causes.

Rep. Hays' quotation from Leo XIII said "every effort should be made that fathers of families receive a wage sufficient to meet adequately the ordinary domestic needs. The Pope said if this wasn't done, "social justice demands that reforms be introduced without delay which will guarantee every adult workingman just such a wage."

PIUS XI

The quotations from Pius XI said that if working men can be encouraged "to look forward to obtaining a share in the land, the result will be that the gulf between vast wealth and deep poverty will be bridged over, and the two orders will be brought together."

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N. Y. Herald Tribune

N. Y. Mirror

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House Group Turns To Quiz of Staff Aide In Foundations Probe

The House committee investigating tax-exempt foundations scheduled another go-around today with one of its research staff workers who criticized the effect of some such foundation grants in the educational field.

Thomas M. McNiece, the assistant research director, returned for questioning mainly by Representative Hays, Democrat of Ohio. He read a voluminous report last week and prepared a supplement for presentation today if it can be sandwiched in between the quizzing.

Professor Testifies.

One witness held the committee's attention all yesterday. He was Dr. Kenneth Colegrove, for 30 years a political science professor at Northwestern University until his retirement. He also was a consultant to the State Department, an adviser to American occupation authorities in Japan after the war, and for several years secretary-treasurer of the American Political Science Association.

Explaining that he had great respect for foundations and the people who run them, Prof. Colegrove said he still believes "it would be a good idea to determine why the Rockefeller Foundation continued to make grants to the old Institute of Pacific Relations for several years after disclosure of Communist infiltration of the institute."

He related how he had been associated with IPR but resigned in 1943 when "my eyes were opened." He declared the IPR started as a worthy organization but, even after coming under Communist domination, was "extremely influential in the State Department."

Argue Over "Position."

One comment by Prof. Colegrove threatened to set off a flareup of the type repeatedly witnessed at earlier sessions. That was when he remarked that some foundations tended to make grants mainly to "leftish" groups or for "left of center" purposes.

But this led to a long discussion of the difficulty of defining such terms as left, right, liberal, conservative, reactionary and radical. One member remarked that the majority of the American people currently are somewhat left of center. Another recalled that the late President Roosevelt had described his basic position as being left of center, and that the late President Coolidge had seemed to commend the consistency of being as "reactionary as the multiplication table."

Prof. Colegrove, reluctant to settle the matter of semantics, raised a question as to where the "center" itself was.

Baumgardner

Tax From Foundations

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W.C. Sullivan
BAUMGARDNER

(FOUNDATIONS)

A SPECIAL HOUSE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE TEMPORARILY RECESSED A SCHEDULED HEARING TODAY WHEN REP. WAYNE L. HAYS (D-O.) COMPLAINED THAT HE NEEDED TIME TO PREPARE QUESTIONS FOR A WITNESS WHOSE TESTIMONY WAS "FULL OF NAMES OF PROMINENT PEOPLE."

KEN EARL, A MOSES LAKE, WASH., ATTORNEY AND FORMER STAFF MEMBER OF THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, WAS SLATED TO TESTIFY ON THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

EARL'S TESTIMONY PREPARED FOR THE HOUSE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING TAX-FREE FOUNDATIONS CHARGED THAT THE LEAGUE WAS "AN ADJUNCT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY."

BEFORE EARL STARTED TO TESTIFY, HAYS GLANCED THROUGH HIS PREPARED STATEMENTS AND DEMANDED A 24-HOUR RECESS.

HAYS SAID HE WAS NOT DEFENDING OR ATTACKING THE LEAGUE WHICH HE SAID HE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT. BUT HE SAID HE WANTED TIME SO HE COULD PREPARE "INTELLIGENT" QUESTIONS.

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ADD 1 FOUNDATIONS

CHAIRMAN B. CARROLL REECE (R-TENN.) RECESSED THE HEARING UNTIL
 2:30 P.M.

EARL'S PREPARED TESTIMONY MENTIONED, AMONG OTHERS, PAUL R. PORTER,
 "A FIELD SECRETARY OF THE LID, WHO HAS MORE RECENTLY BEEN A DIRECTOR" OF
 ICA.

EARL SAID THAT AT THE LID'S 40TH ANNUAL LUNCHEON IN NEW YORK LAST
 YEAR, SPEAKERS INCLUDED MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, AND OSCAR L. CHAPMAN,
 FORMER INTERIOR SECRETARY. EARL SAID DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE, SEN. PAUL
 H. DOUGLAS (D-ILL.), REP. JACOB K. JAVITS (R-NY.) AND DR. HARRY A.
 OVERSTREET SENT MESSAGES OF "CONGRATULATION AND ADMIRATION TO THE
 LEAGUE."

EARL SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE LEAGUE SHOULD BE GRANTED A
 TAX-FREE STATUS AS AN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION IF IT "IS TO CONTINUE TO
 FILL THE AIR WITH PROPAGANDA CONCERNING SOCIALISM; IF IT IS TO CONTINUE TO
 STUMPING FOR CERTAIN LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMS; AND IF IT IS TO CONTINUE TO
 MALIGN THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM UNDER WHICH WE OPERATE..."

"THEN I BELIEVE THAT IT SHOULD BE MADE TO DO SO WITH TAXED DOLLARS.
 JUST AS THE DEMOCRATS AND THE REPUBLICANS ARE MADE TO CAMPAIGN WITH
 TAXED DOLLARS," EARL SAID.

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U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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Bundy
Shaw

Cox Committee

Foundations Hearing Nears Collapse After New Outburst

Committee Takes Time for 'Reflection'; Quote From Job Fails to Cool Tempers

By Robert K. Walsh

Inspection of tax-exempt foundations by a House committee stood close to collapse today because of a gaping split between irate members and questioned motives.

To take "time for reflection," the five-member special committee recessed until Tuesday. That is what Chairman Reece, Republican, of Tennessee, said in announcing the period of suspended animation after a blow-up that brought yesterday's session crashing down.

But last-word echoes continued to come also from Representative Hays, Democrat, of Ohio. He battled Mr. Reece as well as Representative Goodwin, Republican, of Massachusetts, in verbal exchanges unmatched by any of the previous storm and strife of the hearings that opened early this month.

He admitted later that he lost his temper and regretted particularly his dispute with Mr. Goodwin. He made clear, however, he planned to fight on if it took all summer, despite his assertion that \$115,000 of taxpayers' money was being wasted on an "Alice in Wonderland investigation."

Doubts developed in various other congressional quarters that the committee investigation would survive next week, let alone all summer. Mr. Reece nevertheless has declared he is determined to make headway even while Mr. Hays fumes.

Outburst Flares

The outburst occurred yesterday in an otherwise academic atmosphere. Committee Assistant Counsel Arnold T. Koch was questioning Pendleton Herring, president of the Social Science Research Council and former president of the American Political Science Association. Nearby, awaiting his turn to bat some criticism at the committee staff's preliminary report, was Arthur S. Adams, president of the American Council on Education. He never did reach the witness chair.

Mr. Herring and Mr. Adams had presented advance statements defending tax-exempt foundation programs and purposes and challenging staff report statements unfavorable to many such organizations. Mr. Koch asked Mr. Herring what might happen if social science research grants were controlled by an "elite" group of foundations.

Mr. Hays interjected the following quotation from the Book

of Job: "Should a wise man utter knowledge and fill his belly with the east wind?"

Chairman Reece said he represented this not merely as a reflection on the staff but also because the Biblical quotation apparently had been handed to Mr. Hays from some one in the audience. The chairman warned against using the committee rostrum "as a clearing house for views of persons in the audience who may have a special interest."

The situation sizzled when Mr. Hays retorted he would welcome help from any appropriate source to challenge what he called a "loaded" report by the staff research officials. The Ohio member praised Mr. Herring as one of the few witnesses to date who did not deal in "psycho-ceramics." He defined that term as "crackpots."

As Mr. Hays observed later in the cooler part of the afternoon, Mr. Goodwin "got in the line of fire" by protesting that Mr. Hays was out of order and that the hearing should stick to the subject of tax-exempt foundations. Mr. Hays recalled that Mr. Goodwin, a member of the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee, and he had voted against setting up the special committee to investigate tax foundations. He predicted that Mr. Goodwin would be "fair" if the committee ever got around to preparing a report to the House.

Goodwin in Tangle

At the earlier explosive session Mr. Hays shouted that he was getting tired of hearing Mr. Goodwin "making pious remarks and the running to me in private to say you sympathize with me." Mr. Goodwin angrily accused Mr. Hays of "impugning my motives."

The Ohio member's mention of an "Alice in Wonderland investigation" brought the session to a seething close. It was after noon, anyway, and Chairman

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Foundations

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Reece called a cooling off recess for a couple of hours for lunch.

The intended afternoon session demonstrated that appetites may have been satisfied but tempers were as short as ever. The chairman opened the session by stating that he felt very deeply his responsibility to "protect witnesses, and committee employees and members, to maintain the dignity of the House and the committee, and uphold the rules of procedure of the House and the committee."

Hearing Recesses:

"In view of the very unfortunate incident this morning, following similar incidents in the past, and coupled with the fact that Mr. Goodwin is prevented by another engagement from being present here at this time, and in order to give time for reflection, we will recess until 10 a.m. Tuesday," he said, banging the gavel.

As the Chairman started to walk away, Mr. Hays demanded the right to be heard "even if my statement never gets in the record." He explained it was never his wish to engage in personalities but that he had lost his temper when Mr. Reece looked over his shoulder and saw

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House Committee to Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations

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Witness for Probe Of Foundations Faces Barrage of Questions

By Robert K. Walsh

A witness who termed the League for Industrial Democracy a tax-exempt "adjunct of the Socialist Party" faced House committee questioning today about his statements that two members of Congress and several former governmental officials were friendly to the league.

The special committee investigating tax exempt foundations then planned to look into the Social Science Research Council and to hear its president, Pendleton Herring. The committee's research director, and some earlier witnesses at the open hearings criticized various projects and aims of the council.

The first scheduled witness today was Ken Earl, attorney formerly on the staff of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. Late yesterday he began reading an analysis he made mainly from publications and related documents of the League of Industrial Democracy.

LID Speakers.

The committee quit for the day just as Mr. Earl began to discuss the LID's 48th annual luncheon in April, 1953, in New York. He stated that the speakers included Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, former Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, Paul R. Porter, former United States Deputy for Economic Affairs in Europe, and others. He added that Senator Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois; Representative Javits, Republican, of New York, and Dr. Ralph J. Bunche

were among those who "sent messages of congratulation and admiration to the league" on that occasion.

Representative Hays, Ohio Democrat on the committee, indicated he would demand that the witness give detailed reasons for having listed or linked those and other prominent political, labor and educational personages in connection with LID.

Testimony by Mr. Earl was to have started yesterday morning. It was delayed until mid-afternoon at the request of Mr. Hays who wanted time to study the 10,000-word prepared statement.

Hays and Reece Argue.

The hearing finally got under way after an argument between Mr. Hays and Chairman Reece of Tennessee as to whether the LID was an appropriate subject for Committee investigation. Mr. Reece conceded the organization was not a foundation but he declared it was tax-exempt and has been challenged by Mr. Earl and others as en-

gaging more in political than educational activities.

Reporting that the LID operates on a budget of less than \$50,000, Mr. Hays told Mr. Earl, a 34-year-old practicing attorney from Moses Lake, Wash.: "It seems you have crossed the continent on a very unimportant mission on an unimportant organization."

The witness explained that he was not an expert on tax-exempt foundations, that he was not a "character assassin" and that he was not trying to "get" the LID. He said, however, he thought he could help the committee by presenting the results of his study of a mass of material he gathered, and received also from Mr. Reece, on the LID. He declared he did not

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*0. List of Benevolent Trusts, Philanthropies
 & Eleemosynary Institutions to Implement
 the Programs of Subversive Groups*

5 [unclear] [unclear]

ADD 6 FOUNDATIONS (1255P)

REECE ACCUSED HAYS OF "OBSTRUCTION" OF THE HEARINGS.
 "THE RANKING MINORITY MEMBER (HAYS)," HE SAID, "WITHIN THREE HOURS
 AND FIVE MINUTES INTERRUPTED A WITNESS 246 TIMES."
 "THERE WAS NOT ONLY DELAY," HE SAID, "BUT CONSIDERABLE FRUSTRATION
 IN PRESENTING EVIDENCE."

REECE SAID HE EXPECTED TO HAVE A FINAL COMMITTEE REPORT ON THE
 INVESTIGATION BY "LATE FALL." HE SAID ALL STATEMENTS AND CLOSED
 DOOR TESTIMONY WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS. HE SAID THE
 15-DAY REQUIREMENT APPLIES TO THE TIME GIVEN FOR AN ANSWER AFTER A
 FOUNDATION OR A WITNESS IS ASKED FOR TESTIMONY. IT DOES NOT MEAN
 ALL TESTIMONY MUST BE PRESENTED WITHIN 15 DAYS FROM NOW, HE
 EXPLAINED.

REECE, ASKED WHETHER REPUBLICAN LEADERS HAD ASKED HIM TO CALL OFF
 THE HEARINGS, SAID "NO ONE HAS EVER MENTIONED IT TO ME."

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Committee To Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations

Committee Ends Open Probe Of Foundations by 3-2 Vote

Chairman Reece Blames Hays' 'Obstruction';
Mrs. Pfost Deplores Lack of Rebuttal

The House committee investigating tax-exempt foundations voted today to hold no further open hearings. It gave interested groups 15 days to file written statements before a final report is issued.

The vote was 3-2, on party lines. The Republican majority nevertheless blamed the decision on Democratic "obstructionism."

Representative Reece, Republican, of Tennessee, chairman of the special group set up by a House resolution last September, said Representative Hays, Democrat, of Ohio, had used "obstructionist tactics" at the public hearings in recent weeks.

Today's session was behind closed doors. The committee had not met for almost two weeks, following an explosive session at which Mr. Hays described the investigation as an "Alice in Wonderland" project that was wasting the taxpayers' money.

Hays Sees Public Service.

Mr. Hays declared today that if he was responsible for ending "this nonsensical and slanderous attack on the great founda-

tions I feel I have done a great public service."

The Ohioan said the case presented by the staff and by witnesses unfavorable to foundations "fell of its own weight because of its non-factual basis." He added:

"It seems to me the action today was the least embarrassing way for the committee and the staff to bow off the stage."

Mr. Hays and the other Democrat on the committee, Representative Gracie Pfost of Idaho, disclosed that they voted for continuance of open hearings merely to give spokesmen for the foundations an opportunity to answer earlier testimony.

"Unfortunate," Says Mrs. Pfost.

"The shutting off of the hearings is very unfortunate because the foundations should be eligible to present their side in public hearings just as the staff officials and opposition witnesses did," Mrs. Pfost said.

Republicans on the committee, in addition to Mr. Reece, are Representatives Walcott of Michigan and Goodwin of Massachusetts.

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5 Hays

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Date: 7-2-54

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Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Boardman ☒
Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Harbo ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Parsons ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Tamm ☒
Mr. Sizoo ☒
Mr. Winterrowd ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Mr. Holloman ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

K
Committee To Investigate
Tax Exempt Foundations

Shaw

BAUMGARDNER

file
(FOUNDATIONS)

CHAIRMAN B. CARROLL REECE (R-TENN.) CALLED OFF ANY FURTHER PUBLIC HEARINGS BY DISSENSION-TORN SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS.

THE VOTE WAS THREE TO TWO ON PARTY LINES WITH THE REPUBLICANS VOTING TO CLOSE DOWN THE PUBLIC SESSIONS. IT WAS LEARNED. REECE TOLD A REPORTER THAT FURTHER TESTIMONY WILL BE TAKEN IN CLOSED SESSIONS OR IN THE FORM OF WRITTEN STATEMENTS TO THE COMMITTEE. REECE SAID PUBLIC HEARINGS WERE CANCELLED "IN VIEW OF EFFORTS TO FRUSTRATE ORDERLY PROCEDURE." HE REFERRED TO REP. WAYNE L. HAYS (D-O.) WHO HAS VIGOROUSLY PROTESTED THE COMMITTEE TACTICS.

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 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Parsons _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tamm _____
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 Mr. Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Mr. Holloman _____
 Miss Gandy _____

ADD 1 FOUNDATIONS (1106A)

"THIS SEEMS TO ME THE LEAST EMBARRASSING WAY TO GRACEFULLY BOW OFF THE STAGE," HAYS SAID. ALTHOUGH HE SAID HE AND REP. GRACIE PFOST (R-IDA.) VOTED TO CONTINUE PUBLIC HEARINGS.

"IN MY OPINION," HAYS SAID, "THE CASE PRESENTED BY THE STAFF AND WITNESSES AGAINST THE FOUNDATIONS WAS SO NONSENSICAL AND WITHOUT BASIS IN FACT THAT IT FELL OF ITS OWN WEIGHT."

COMMITTEE STAFF MEMBERS AND OTHER WITNESSES TESTIFIED THAT THE BIG FOUNDATIONS LIKE FORD, CARNEGIE AND ROCKEFELLER WERE PART OF AN EFFORT TO PROMOTE SOCIALISTIC AND COLLECTIVISTIC IDEAS IN THE UNITED STATES.

HAYS HAS CALLED THE INQUIRY "AN ALICE IN WONDERLAND" INVESTIGATION WHERE THE CONCLUSIONS ARE STATED BEFORE THE EVIDENCE IS BROUGHT IN.

HEARINGS HAVE BEEN MARKED BY ALMOST CONSTANT BICKERING BETWEEN HAYS AND REECE.

THE COMMITTEE HAS NOT YET HEARD REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOUNDATIONS IN DEFENSE OF THE CHARGES PREVIOUSLY AIRED AT THE HEARINGS.

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Mr. Tolson _____
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 Mr. Nichols _____
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 Mr. Harbo _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Parsons _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
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Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations
Barth

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(FOUNDATIONS)

NEW YORK -- CHARLES DOLLARD, PRESIDENT OF THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK, SAID THE DECISION TO END PUBLIC HEARINGS IN A CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS WAS "OBVIOUSLY UNFAIR AND PREJUDICIAL."

CHAIRMAN B. CARROLL REECE (R-TENN.) OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING FOUNDATIONS ENDED THE STORMY PUBLIC HEARINGS RECENTLY AFTER A NUMBER OF WITNESSES TESTIFIED ATTACKING THE FOUNDATIONS. HE SAID THE REMAINING TESTIMONY FROM THE FOUNDATIONS WOULD BE TAKEN IN SWORN STATEMENTS FOR CONSIDERATION AT CLOSED SESSIONS OF THE COMMITTEE.

DOLLARD RELEASED A STATEMENT SENT TO REECE IN WHICH HE CHARGED THAT "THROUGH A SHOCKING COMBINATION OF INNUENDO AND IMPLICATION, THE IMPRESSION HAS BEEN LEFT" THAT THE FOUNDATIONS FAILED TO SUPPORT "PRO-AMERICAN PROJECTS."

"AS FAR AS THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION IS CONCERNED, THERE CAN BE ONLY ONE ANSWER TO SUCH A QUESTION," HE SAID. "THE CORPORATION REGARDS ITS ENTIRE PROGRAM AS 'PRO-AMERICAN.' THAT IS WHY THE CORPORATION IS IN BUSINESS."

DOLLARD CAME OUT STRONGLY AGAINST GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS. HE WARNED THAT "THE DOCTRINE THAT TAX EXEMPTION JUSTIFIES A POLITICAL JUDGMENT AS TO THE SOUNDNESS OF IDEAS CAN BE A VERY DANGEROUS TWO-EDGED WEAPON."

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Mr. Tolson _____
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 Mr. Holloman _____
 Miss Gandy _____

NEW YORK--THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK VIGOROUSLY DENIED IT HAD FAILED TO SUPPORT "PRO-AMERICAN PROJECTS," AND CRITICIZED A CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS AS "OBVIOUSLY UNFAIR AND PREJUDICIAL."

CHARLES DOLLARD, PRESIDENT OF THE CORPORATION, MADE THE STATEMENT IN A RELEASE TO B. CARROLL REECE (R-TENN.), CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE WHICH RECENTLY ENDED ITS INVESTIGATIONS OF TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS.

DOLLARD CLAIMED THE DECISION TO END THE HEARINGS WAS UNFAIR BECAUSE THE COMMITTEE FAILED TO GIVE THE FOUNDATIONS A CHANCE TO ANSWER THE CHARGES.

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